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CHRONICLES OF LINCLUDEN

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LINCLUDEN ABBEY AND COLLEGE

CHRONICLES

OF

LINCLUDEN

As an Abbey and as a College

BY

WILLIAM M'DOWALL, F.S.A. Scot.

AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE BURGH OF DUMFRIES, WITH NOTICES OF NITHSDALE, ANNANDALE, AND THE WESTERN BORDER;' 'MEMORIALS OF ST. MICHAEL'S;' 'BURNS IN DUMFRIESSHIRE;' 'THE MAN OF THE WOODS;' 'THE MIND IN THE FACE;' ETC.

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PREFACE.

Of Lincluden Abbey comparatively little is known. It did not occupy a high place among the monastic houses of Scotland, neither did it figure much in history; yet it rose up during an interesting period, and among a people who were peculiarly situated, and it is associated with some distinguished names and a few incidents of national importance.

After existing as an Abbey for female celibates nearly two hundred and fifty years the primitive structure was supplemented by a magnificent Church, and the entire foundation assumed the form of a Collegiate Establishment. From that time Lincluden began to supply fuller materials for the chronicler, as it became interlinked with the fortunes of the Galloway Douglases, the Nithsdale Maxwells, and other powerful families; and sometimes noteworthy incidents occurred under its roof or around its walls to enrich its annals.

All that has been hitherto published on the subject amounts to little; and if the author has laboured under the drawback of having no accumulated stores to borrow from, the counterbalancing

advantage is his of having had a tale to tell that is neither trite nor stale, however imperfectly he may have performed his task.

When collecting materials for the work he had the good luck to fall in with a rare old folio manuscript, which supplies many curious particulars regarding the inner economy and the temporal endowments of the College during the Reformation period, 1547-64. For its use he is indebted to Mr. Thomas Dickson, of the Register House, who, besides conferring this favour, supplied other important assistance by which the author felt much encouraged in the prosecution of his research. Ready facilities for the same purpose were supplied by Mr. J. T. Clark, of the Advocates' Library. The author has thankfully to acknowledge the receipt of several useful contributions from Mr. Joseph Bain, of the Public Record Office, London; also of some serviceable hints from Lieutenant-Colonel Fergusson, and from the learned author of *Monasticon*, the Rev. Dr. J. F. S. Gordon.

To Mr. James Barbour, architect, Dumfries, the author is under great obligations. Mr. Barbour is thoroughly conversant with the remains of Lincluden, whether looked at from a professional or an antiquarian point of view. He has written some excellent papers on the subject, which, together with a plan and drawings illustrative of it, were generously placed by him at the disposal of the author; and, as the reader will not fail to see, they have been turned freely to account in the preparation of this volume.

Mr. John Carlyle Aitken, Dumfries, who is an adept in all matters of pedigree, gave a kindly helping hand to the author.

On sundry points relating to the College lands he received valuable information from Mr. William J. Maxwell, Terregles Banks; the Latin documents introduced were carefully revised and translated by Rector Chinnock, of the Dumfries Academy; and an interesting addition to the statistics of the narrative was supplied by Mr. George Neilson, Glasgow.

The competent pencil of Mr. John R. Fergusson, artist, Dumfries, is traceable in the embellishments, towards which the camera of a skilful amateur photographer, Mr. John Cowan, Dumfries, also contributed; while, by the liberal permission of Messrs. Valentine and Sons, Dundee, one of their charming photographs of Lincluden has been copied as a frontispiece.

Some of the author's sweetest memories cling to the ruined fane, and centre in its beautiful surroundings. For the love he bears to it, and because of multitudes to whom its crumbling walls are dear, he devoutly wishes that this volume of *Chronicles* had been less unworthy of its theme.

CRESSWELL TERRACE, DUMFRIES,
New Year's Day, 1886.

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CHRONICLES OF LINCLUDEN.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABBEY.

Galloway a Celtic Province when Lincluden Abbey was built—Nominally subject to the Scottish Crown, its rulers often asserted their independence, and sometimes sided with the Kings of England against their own Sovereigns—Erection of religious houses in Galloway by Fergus, one of its first Lords—He retires to Holyrood Abbey, leaving the province to be ruled over by his two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert —Uchtred builds and endows Lincluden—Its architectural style and equipments —Its inmates, sisters of the Order of St. Benedict.

IT was during a transition epoch of Scottish history, when the Church of Rome began to take firm root in the land under the fostering care of David I., that Lincluden Abbey and many other monastic houses rose up at his command, or as a result of the example shown by him to his nobles. The primitive Celtic population of the country also experienced an important contemporaneous change, brought about greatly through the influence of the same sovereign. The son of Margaret, the Saxon Princess who after her death received a place in the Roman calendar, David sought to honour the memory of his sainted mother not only by his munificent liberality to the Church, but by encouraging

the settlement of her countrymen in Scotland when England was made too hot for them by their Norman conquerors. Very few of them, however, settled in Galloway, which was still thoroughly Celtic in its population, language, and institutions when Lincluden Abbey was founded by one of its rulers. It was also to a large extent an independent province, and though feudally subject to the Scottish Crown, its lords sometimes stood on more friendly terms with the English kings than with their own nominal sovereigns. At the Battle of the Standard, however, fought near Northallerton in 1138, "the Wild Scots of Galloway," to use a phrase then current, formed the van of the Scottish army as led by their chiefs Ulgric and Dovenald. It was while thus engaged that the first historic glimpse, and almost the last, of these two doughty warriors is obtained. For a while it seemed as if the Galwegians, with their impetuous valour, were about to carry all before them; but eventually the tide of battle turned in favour of England's Norman chivalry, and defeat was experienced along the entire Caledonian line, Ulgric and Dovenald falling dead among heaps of slain. Fergus, who is supposed to have been son of the one and nephew of the other, succeeded them in the Lordship of Galloway. As he was forty-two years of age at the time, the likelihood is that he took part in the engagement. But Fergus, though sufficiently warlike for the position he inherited, liked the Church better than the camp, and showed his preference for the former by founding no fewer than five religious houses: the Monasteries of Tongland and Soulseat, the Priories of Whithorn and St. Mary's Isle, and the Abbey of Dundrennan.

For several centuries before this period, Whithorn, owing to its connection with St. Ninian, had been recognised as the most hallowed place in the province. Born near Whithorn, the great Galloway missionary built there a stone church, the first of that

material ever erected in Britain,[1] and which bore the appropriate name of Candida Casa; and according to Pinkerton the see of which it was the nucleus was the oldest bishopric in Scotland.[2] When Ninian died he was buried in the little sanctuary, which thenceforward acquired a peculiar sacredness, and also, it was believed, a healing virtue, that drew to it hosts of pilgrims every year. The Priory established at Whithorn by Fergus would be looked upon by him as a fitting sequel to Candida Casa; and he identified it further with Ninian by placing among its treasures sundry precious relics of the saint.

For labours of this congenial nature Fergus had comparatively little time to spare, as during a lengthened portion of his rule Galloway was convulsed by insurrectionary movements having for their object the assertion of its complete independence, and it was not till Malcolm IV. had put these down by the strong hand that order was restored to the province, and it became loyal again, against its will. Peacefully inclined and pious, Fergus was not quite in his element as ruler over a turbulent people. In 1160, when bowed down by age and care, he became an inmate of Holyrood Abbey. Fergus, it is said, took this step in order to propitiate King David as well as to secure for himself bodily rest. The circumstances of his withdrawal from public life as described in the *Bannatyne Miscellany* are sufficiently curious. When, we are told, the fabric of Holyrood was progressing "under St. David, a most happy monarch," it happened that "Fergus Earl and Great Lord of Galloway failed in his duty to his Majesty and committed a grievous fault, at which the King, evidently very angry, determined to put the law in force rigorously against him." On this account

[1] *Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. iii. p. 4. It is conjectured by Chalmers that the town owes its modern name to a corruption of the Saxon word *Hwit-ærn*, which means the White House.

[2] Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, vol. ii. p. 268.

Fergus, who was "very much devoted to God, and, notwithstanding his accidental fault, always faithful to the King," was greatly troubled. In his distress he opened his mind to Albyn, the King's confessor and also Abbot of Holyrood, by whom he was advised to assume the habit of a canon regular, and under that guise to ask pardon from his Majesty. This pious fraud, if it may be so called, was carried out to the letter. One day, while David was visiting the Abbey to mark the progress of its builders, the monks assembled with the Prince of Galloway in their midst, and he obtained anonymously the royal forgiveness which would have been denied to him had he pleaded for it undisguised and openly. "O most gracious Prince," said the Abbot, "we, the petitioners of your Highness, confessing our faults, that we are guilty and transgressors, most humbly beseech thee, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that your most benignant Highness would condescend to pardon us, and every one of us, every fault and offence committed against your Majesty, with a single and unfeigned heart, and at the same time bestow upon us your blessing, in order that for the future we may be deserving to meditate and pray for the safety of your kingdom more holily and devotedly; and that your most merciful Highness would be pleased, in token of this gracious pardon, to bestow upon every one of us the kiss of peace."

Thus appealed to, the King gave a gracious response; and taking the Abbot by the hand, kissed him affectionately, saying, "Pax tibi, frater, cum benedictione divina" (peace be to thee, brother, with the divine benediction).[1] The Prince seems never to have thrown off the cowl which he at first put on in this singular way, if the foregoing legend may be relied upon. Fergus, as we shall afterwards see, showed a truly paternal interest in the brother-

[1] Dr. Gordon's *Monasticon*, pp. 204-206.

hood by endowing their house with numerous benefices. He died after a residence in it of only one year.[1]

From the chronicles of the period but few particulars can be gathered of his personal history. That he was a man of extraordinary munificence, emulating even that of King David, the relics of the costly structures that he reared remain to show. In Fergus the family of which he was the head took quite a new departure. Looking backwards to the semi-savage warriors who fell at the Battle of the Standard, on to Galvus and Dunnallon, from whom they claimed descent, we find only the fierce, barbarous thanes of an unlettered age; but in Fergus we see a prince of a higher type—one far in advance of his time, and who gave a virtuous bent to at least a portion of his lineage, which they retained for many generations. Fergus married an illegitimate daughter of Henry I., King of England, receiving with her a goodly dowry of lands and heritages. She bore to her husband two sons, who, according to Scoto-Irish law, became at his death joint Lords of Galloway.

While Fergus was still alive, the land over which he ruled was recognised in all royal writs as a principality distinct from Scotland proper. As an example of this practice we quote as follows the deed by which William the Lion confirmed to Robert Bruce (afterwards competitor for the crown) the grant of Annandale given to him in preceding reigns. "William King of Scots to his bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, and other good men, French, English, Scots, Galwegians. Gives to Robert de Brus and his heirs the land which his father and himself held in the vale of Annand, by the same bounds and as freely as they held

[1] Fergus was buried on the east side of the Abbey chapel, "where," says Dr. Gordon, "the remains of many other illustrious personages were deposited, whose monuments have either been destroyed or who have never had any erected to their memory." —*Monasticon*, p. 196.

it in the time of King David his grandfather or King Malcolm his brother. Saving to the King the pleas of the Crown, viz. of treasure trove, of murder, of premeditated assault, of rape, of arson, of robbery."[1] This charter derives further interest from the circumstance that among those who bore witness to its validity were "Huchtred, son of Fergus," the founder of Lincluden, and "Gilebert, son of Fergus"—the first recorded instance, we believe, of the existence of these Galloway brothers. Pleasant it is to see them thus united in peaceful witness-bearing: pity that succeeding pages of this narrative should have to present them in a totally different aspect, the one as the slaughtered victim of the other's remorseless lust of power!

At the date of this document, 1166, surnames were scarcely known in Scotland, but soon afterwards they became common, and before the close of the twelfth century the rulers of Galloway took "M'Dowall,"—a modification of Dovenald, it is believed,—as their family designation. Writing on this subject Nisbet says, "The old lords of Galloway were of the name M'Dowall, and one of the most powerful families in Scotland at that time. They built five abbacies and five priories, endowing them with lands—a work of most prodigious charge, of which few private families in Europe may be said to have done the like."[2]

Just twenty-six years after Ulgric and Dovenald were slain in battle we find a Galwegian host, led by their successors, Uchtred and Gilbert, taking part with William the Lion in an attempt

[1] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, edited by Joseph Bain, vol. i. pp. 13, 14.

[2] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 283.—Sir Andrew Agnew states that the M'Dowalls hold their family to have been derived from Douall of Galloway, who lived 230 years before the birth of our Saviour; and killing Nothalus (the tyrant), sixth king of Scotland, established Ruthenus as seventh king in his place.—*Hereditary Sheriffs of Wigtownshire*, p. 28.

"The M'Dowalls have always been powerful in the western division of Galloway, and their origin is lost in antiquity, 'ultras memoriam hominum,' to quote the words of one of their early charters."—*Statistical Account of Wigtownshire*, p. 225.

made by him to recover Northumberland, which had been ceded to the English by his weak brother, Malcolm the Maiden. The enterprise terminated in the capture of the Scottish monarch; and during his lengthened imprisonment the Galloway Scots threw off their allegiance, and paid homage to Henry II.[1] For some years neither of the sons of Fergus exhibited any resemblance to him mentally—Uchtred no less than Gilbert figuring as a fighting chief rather than as a cultivator of the peaceful arts. But it was the circumstances of his position perhaps that made Uchtred a man of the sword; and if Galloway during his joint lordship had been in a less unsettled condition, the likelihood is, we think, that he would have followed to a large extent in the footsteps of his father. He did not seek to emulate Fergus by founding a series of great religious houses, and perhaps lack of sufficient means rather than any want of will hindered him from pursuing that course; yet he resolved to add one monastic institution to the existing number before he died, for the purpose, according to his religious creed, of atoning in some degree for the sins of his life, and helping to secure his eternal welfare; and so in due season arose the fair abbey on Nithside, "the grey ruins of which still help to keep his memory green." As for Gilbert, he seems to have been a son of violence from his youth upward, and he has left behind a name that is loaded with infamy.

Uchtred having made up his mind to found and endow a retreat for recluses somewhere in that part of Galloway—the eastern, which, more directly than the western, lay under his rule—the questions of its site, of its architectural character, and of its ecclesiastical order had next to be considered. When visiting his relatives of the Dunegal family, who then bore sway over Stranith, he may

[1] Benedictus Abbas, as quoted in Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*, says the negotiations on the subject were initiated by the King of England, and he sent Hovenden and Robert de Val to the two brothers for that purpose.

have been struck with the beauty of a piece of elevated ground that rises up about a mile from Dumfries, near which two rivers mingle their waters, and then, lovingly merged into one, roll on to the Solway. At all events, this spot, at once sequestered, charming, and salubrious, was selected as the site for the new edifice. One of the sister streams, the Cluden, after draining the parish of Irongray, pursues a slow circuitous route to the south-west, catching the Upper Cairn in its course; and some miles afterwards it is in turn embraced by the more impetuous Nith as that river comes rolling onward through a spacious dale to combine with the Galloway stream in separating Kirkcudbrightshire from Dumfries-shire for a space of eight miles, before being absorbed by the sea. At a point a little below "the vale in whose bosom the bright waters meet" the right bank appears as an elevated plateau, on the crest of which stands the now ruined house of Uchtred.

Its name, Lincluden, is doubtless derived from the word "Linn," which in the ancient British language means a pool, as the water scoops out a deep basin for itself in the immediate neighbourhood of the building. A small natural mound, rising higher than the edifice a little to the south-west, increased its amenity. This hillock, after having been artificially scarped, may have been used as an encampment by the Selgovæ Britons; and it is believed to have been turned to account by the inmates of the Abbey either as a devotional Calvary or for a recreative purpose. On these points we have no precise information; but we know that Kirk-Hill, as it came to be called, possessed some little agricultural value when the establishment to which it belonged existed as a College. From the summit of the mound a charming view is obtainable, comprising a rich portion of Lower Nithsdale; a picturesque range of mountain land culminating in Criffel, at the base of which stands the Abbey of Dulce Cor, built by Uchtred's great-granddaughter Devorgilla; and at times the swelling tidal

flood rushing up the Solway Firth, and on rarer occasions making its presence felt in the sister rivers that meet immediately below the view-point.[1] To Lincluden in due time there were attached a flower-garden and herbarium, traces of which were seen by the tourist Pennant when he visited the place in 1775.

Besides its natural beauty the site had the recommendation of being on ground that from time immemorial had borne the congenial title of Tir-eglwys, which in the old British tongue, or as Latinised into Terra-ecclesia, means the Land of the Church. This name, slightly altered to Terregles, was assigned to the district when formed into a parish, and also to the barony carved out of it which Sir John Herries received from David II. in 1365.[2]

The ruins of the Abbey which still survive comprise but a morsel of the twelfth-century erection; and careful scrutiny is needed to trace its existence among the less ancient remains by which it is overlapped. At the date of the Abbey, 1164 or thereby, the transition style of architecture, in which the severe Norman was graduating into the Early English, was in vogue. That the house was of this character all the little that is left of it tends to show. Small in size, it consisted chiefly of a nave, 56 feet long and about 20 feet wide; a choir of the same width; and a north aisle, 9 feet wide, with a less extended sweep westward than the nave. In all probability there was a south aisle also, occupying the site of part of the less ancient building; but if so, it has entirely disappeared, as have also the domestic apartments, which formed an indispensable feature of all such establishments. The doorway, situated in the west wall of the nave, was about 4½ feet wide, and must have presented a fine appearance, as it had a semicircular arched top, formed of several concentric rings projecting over each

[1] Since the caul or weir was built across the Nith at Dumfries in 1704 the tide has only on very rare occasions swept over the barrier and onwards in the direction of Lincluden.

[2] *Register of the Great Seal*, book I. p. 96.

other, two of which at least were moulded and enriched with the favourite zigzag ornament of the Norman style. By a descent of two steps from the doorway the floor of the nave was reached; while that of the choir rose higher, and access to it was obtained by a series of steps extending from side to side under the chancel arch. Separating the nave from the aisle there rose an arcade, composed of cylindrical pillars terminating on the east with a shafted respond or half-pillar that rested on a plain square pedestal; depressed pointed arches spanning the bays between the pillars, the rings of which were recessed and truncated. For a while plain single-light pointed openings would do service for windows, but ultimately the Abbey appears to have acquired "storied windows richly dight," of a more ambitious stamp, divided by chamfered mullions and displaying tracery plainly cusped. The unknown architect seems to have aimed at combining massiveness with simplicity, and to have made the restricted ornamentation of the building tributary to its strength.[1] We infer these characteristics from the few relics of it that are still in position—foundation fragments of the west wall of the nave, some broken masonry at its north-east corner, a small remnant of the wall by which the north of the aisle was bounded, two steps of the doorway on which the founder's feet must have often pressed, a portion of the lower plinth of the eastmost pillar, the pedestal, base, and one course of the east respond of the north arcade, a piece of wall extending eastward from the back of that half-pillar; together with a mingled heap made up of no ordinary *débris*, seeing it includes portions of window stones, two pieces of circular pillars, and several large splinters of the arcaded screen that rose up, "like an alley'd walk," to divide the aisle from the nave.

[1] There is a probability that France supplied both the designer and the builders of the fabric. We know from Boece that when King David resolved to found Holyrood Abbey in 1128 he sent his "traist servandis to France and Flanders, and brocht rycht crafty mesons to big the same."

Not a few of these relics were secured during extensive excavations to which the ruins were recently subjected; but there was one rare prize, real or fanciful, of which no trace could be discovered, though sought for eagerly—that being the secret roadway below the Nith, which, according to a persistent popular belief, united the Abbey with the strong fortress which stood lower down on the opposite bank of the river. Tales of tradition and romance have invested this subterranean passage with thrilling interest, and helped to confirm the idea of its existence in the public mind. We have all heard how during the wars on the Border the castle of Dumfries was again and again kept from being starved into a surrender by supplies sent through the tunnel from the Abbey; and how also the garrison, when sometimes no longer able to hold out against the besieging force, effected their escape by slipping through this convenient subway. Incidents of this kind may have occurred, but it is at least unfortunate for their acceptance that the mysterious passage on which their credibility depends refuses to disclose itself to the peering eye of the anxious archæologist, even when a staff of sappers and miners assist him in his search; and it will be our unpleasant duty to show afterwards that in all probability no such curious adjunct as this was ever possessed by Uchtred's Abbey.

All the monastic houses previously erected in Galloway were for recluses of the rougher sex; Uchtred opened his one for a sisterhood of Black Nuns, who followed the rule of St. Benedict; and in due course it received a complement of inmates, probably drafted at first from the French establishments of Clugny or Marmoutier, and reinforced afterwards by natives of the district. Next to the Augustinian Order that of the Benedictines was the most notable in Scotland during the twelfth and two following centuries; its principal houses having been at Coldingham, Dunfermline, Kelso, Kilwinning, Aberbrothock,

Paisley,[1] Newbattle, Culross, Melrose, and Pluscardin. Compared with these, Lincluden Abbey was small and of much less consequence socially or politically. It was, like them, possessed of large endowments; but though the females of that day sometimes used the sword, they, like their modern representatives, were prevented from intermeddling, at least directly, with State affairs; and while the male heads of religious fraternities usually wore the lordly mitre, the superioress of Lincluden was debarred by her sex from sitting in Parliament or aspiring to senatorial honours; all the more time she would have therefore for the performance of her religious duties. Lincluden was in fact a convent or nunnery rather than an abbey in the full sense of that term; and though we read of the Lady Alianore being its Abbess at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the title of prioress was more frequently and fittingly assigned to the rulers of the establishment. The names of those who bore it have, with one or two exceptions, vanished from the historic scroll. As we shall see afterwards, there is some room for supposing that the last of the lengthened line, extending over about two hundred and forty years, was named Lady Blanche; and from the oblivion which has overtaken all the rest, save Alianore, the first of them has not escaped.

Of David I., the greatest monastery-builder that Scotland ever saw, his successor, James VI., said he had been a sore saint for the Crown; and in the same way the Lordship of Galloway was considerably impoverished by the munificent piety of Fergus, who not only founded and endowed the five religious houses already specified, but enriched Holyrood with numerous benefices, the gift of which was confirmed by his son, the founder of Lincluden. The grant included the church of St. Mary and St. Bruok of Dunroden; the island of Trahil (afterwards called St. Mary's Isle), on which

[1] Of this Abbey an excellent history has been published by the Rev. Dr. Cameron Lees, which we have consulted with advantage.

Rolland, son of Uchtred, erected a Priory that was dependent on Holyrood; the church of Galtweid; the church of St. Bridget of Blakhet (supposed to be Kirkbride); the church of St. Cuthbert of Desnesmore (Kirkcudbright); the church of Tungeland; the church of Twenhame (Twynholm); the church of St. Constantine of Colmanate; the church of Kirkandrew, Balemakethe (Balmaghie); the church of Keltun; the church of Ryrechormac, with its chapel of Balnecross.[1]

But for the drain to which Uchtred's resources were thus subjected he would very likely have made Lincluden vie in magnificence with the greatest religious houses of its day. Inferior in size and wealth to many of them, yet it was liberally dowered by him with farms and other sources of maintenance—the lands lying chiefly in the baronies of Crossmichael and Drumsleet. Nor did he restrict his bounty to Lincluden, or his own district. There is a document still extant showing that a great charitable institution in the city of York shared in the benefactions of the good Galloway chief. By this deed "Huctred, son of Fergus, signifies to his lord and father Christian, Bishop of the Galwalouses, that he has granted to God and St. Leonard and the brothers of the Hospital of St. Peter of York, a carucate and toft in Crevequer [Troqueer], in frankal moigne for the souls of David King of Scots, Fergus his father, his mother, and all his ancestors."[2]

[1] *Lib. Cart. Sanct. Crucis*, p. 11.

[2] Bain's *Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 422.—The witnesses are—Christian, Bishop of Galloway; Everard, Abbot of Holmcoltram; Robert, Prior of that abbey; William the cellarer; Robert, Archdeacon of Carlisle; Robert, Archdeacon of Galloway; Hubert de Vaux; Robert fitz Trute, sheriff; Richard, his brother; Lohlan, son of Huddredy; Peter del Teillos; Richard de Chenay; Richard de Heriz; Robert, clerk of York; Radulf fitz Richard; William de la Crespinor; Hudard de Hodelma; Gillechad Gillamor; Ralf, clerk of Carlisle; Richard of York; Simon, brother of Ralf the clerk; William de Briston; Robert Dunbredan. Charters confirmatory of the grant were given by Alan, grandson of Uchtred, and by William the Lion, the former having for witnesses Lord Walter, Bishop of Whitehern (Candida Casa); Lord Galfrid, Abbot of Tungeland; Sir John the Archdeacon; Sir Durand the official: Sir Mathew the

During the twelfth century the rural economy of Galloway was of a very primitive type. As in other parts of Scotland, the monks were the best farmers; and when Fergus and Uchtred dowered the religious houses which they set up with extensive lands they gave a stimulus to the agriculture of the district, and by this means many portions of it that were previously lying in a wilderness condition were brought to yield goodly crops of oats and barley and abundance of hay; not till a century afterwards was the province able to grow wheat with success, or, unless in favourable seasons, to produce a sufficiency of cereal food for its inhabitants. Even the monastic acres, though comparatively well tilled, did not always in the infancy of Lincluden Abbey supply all the grain required by their owners; and, wonderful though it may seem, numerous ship-loads of breadstuffs were imported for them from Ireland through the permission of Galloway's royal patron, King Henry III. Thus we read that on the 15th of February 1220-21 the King commands his Irish Justiciar "to allow the monks of the order of Vauday dwelling at Kar in Galloway [Carsphairn ?] to buy in Ireland corn, meal, and other victuals for their maintenance, to last for four years from Easter next (10th April)." Again, on the 10th of May 1226, the same King "allows the Abbot of Glenluce to buy corn in Ireland and take it to his own place in Galweye for the sustenance of his house till Easter next year;" and on the 23d of July 1227 the privilege is renewed, to endure till Easter of the King's thirteenth year.[1] It may be assumed, we think, that these

deacon; Master Adam de Thorniton; Thomas de Cancia; Thomas, parson of Crevequer; Richard, parson of Culewen (Colvend); Martin, parson of Kirkcudbright; Master Gervase de Somervile; Master Thomas, and others.

[1] These extracts are taken from Mr. Bain's *Calendar*. Commenting upon them and many similar permissions given to the religious houses of England and Scotland to buy corn, meal, and other articles of food in Ireland, he says, "That island, so renowned in later times for its verdure, must have been a veritable land of Goshen, and probably enjoyed in former days a climate more fitted to bring grain crops to maturity than now."—Introduction to vol. i. p. 46.

importations were exceptional, occurring only or chiefly when the native fruits of the field were injured by bad weather or ravaged in times of war; as regards temporalities the nuns of Lincluden must have been plentifully provided for, and have had enough besides to maintain the hospitable character of their house, if we may judge from the extent of their farms and the produce yielded by them as shown at succeeding dates. By the laws of their order the sisters were forbidden to indulge in luxurious diet, but during festival days, or when entertaining strangers, no asceticism was insisted upon. Of animal food, including fowls from their own barn-yards, they had a fair allowance; plenty of dainty salmon also, drawn from their own "linn;" and, on high occasions, we doubt not, the board of the Abbess could display, in addition to other delicacies,

> "Sea-fowls dried and solands store,
> And gamons of the dusky boar,
> And savoury haunch of deer."

When the Abbey was ready to receive its virgin sisterhood it would doubtless be duly consecrated by Bishop Christian, to whose diocese it belonged. After seeing the desire of his heart fulfilled, the princely founder of the hallowed fane would, we may conceive, retire satisfied to his paternal residence, the castle of Loch Fergus, built on two rocky islets that rose out of a lake near Kirkcudbright that has been long since drained away.[1] If the peace which he coveted followed him thither it did not abide with him as a permanent guest: his latter years were disturbed now and again by internecine wars, and the last scene of all was one of unutterable agony.

[1] When Chalmers wrote his *Caledonia* (published in 1824) Loch Fergus was still in existence, and contained several islets, one of them termed Palace Isle, according to the Rev. Dr. Winter, who penned the Statistical Account of Kirkcudbright. The lake was artificial, with two small islands showing remains of ancient fortifications which "were unquestionably the seats of Fergus, Lord of Galloway."—p. 25.

CHAPTER II.

THE ABBEY.

The founder of the Order of St. Bennet or Benedict—His code of rules for its government—Daily life of the Lincluden sisterhood—Its routine disturbed by the tidings of Uchtred's assassination by his brother—Details of the fratricide—Gilbert obtains the protection of King Henry II.—After the death of Gilbert, Rolland, son of the murdered Uchtred, establishes his rule over the entire province—Vast power and affluence of Rolland's son Alan—Devorgilla, daughter of Alan and mother of King John Baliol—Her connection with Lincluden—Traditional story of an underground passage between the Abbey and the Castle of Dumfries.

For the guidance of the Benedictine Order, its founder, born at Nursi, Italy, about 480, drew up an elaborate body of rules; and though it has a special reference to the male members of the order, it was doubtless applicable in a modified way to its female members also. As the nature of conventual life at Lincluden may be inferred from St. Bennet's code, it is worthy of being glanced at. In one chapter we find him embodying seventy-two precepts on the most eminent Christian duties. The first is love to God, the second love to our neighbour as ourself; and the monastery is magnified as the proper place for putting them all in force. As if anticipating Thomas Carlyle, Bennet looks upon silence as a supreme virtue, for love of which "we ought sometimes to abstain from good and edifying discourses." Obedience to superiors and humility are placed in the same high

category; the latter duty being graduated in twelve degrees, one of which is "not to laugh easily," another to speak only when necessity requires, and that "without laughter" or being otherwise than laconic. As regards individual service, the brethren were required to rise two hours after midnight for the purpose of singing canticles in the church. Reading at meals was prescribed, each brother taking his turn for a week; and special prayer was to be offered up for the reader at church, lest he should be puffed up by a spirit of pride. They were required also to serve for seven days by turns at table and in the kitchen, the officiating monk cleaning all the plates and washing the feet of his fellows on the closing day. They might either sleep all in one dormitory or in several rooms by tens or twenties, their girdles being retained, and a lamp kept burning through all the night watches.

The monks were to possess nothing at all of their own, but everything in common. They were to have two dishes at dinner, with some fruit and one pound of bread, flesh meat being interdicted except for the sick; but a small measure of wine called *hemina* was allowed to each, which might be withdrawn because of bad behaviour.[1] Any brother who was "rebellious, proud, or a murmurer," was to receive admonition, and if necessary to suffer excommunication; and corporal punishment was inflicted afterwards; expulsion being the next step resorted to if the offender remained impenitent. As a special mark of favour the monks who deserved it were occasionally allowed to pass into the outer world for a brief season, on condition that they should all the while wear their distinctive garments and follow the rules of their order as far as practicable.

[1] Mabillon, in his *Dictionaire des Ordres Religieuses*, vol. ii. p. 306, states that the Benedictine monks were required at the end of their meals to consume all the left crumbs. "There was a disposition at first," he tells us, "to evade this regulation; but when a dying monk exclaimed in horror that he saw the devil holding up in accusation against him a bag of crumbs which he had been unwilling to swallow, the brethren were terrified into obedience."

Strangers who visited the monastery were to be received "as if they were Christ himself," the brethren adoring our Lord in them "by a humble prostration at their feet," which, it is added, "the abbot and the monks must wash." These proceedings over, the visitors were to be admitted as guests at the table of the superior in an apartment by itself reserved for that purpose.

In a letter that is still extant, written by Peter, Archabbot of Clugny, he gives the following advice to an inmate of an affiliated convent regarding the employment of his leisure. "Trees cannot be planted, fields cannot be watered, and no agricultural work can be done consistent with perpetual seclusion; but what is more useful, instead of the plough you can take in hand the pen, and instead of marking the fields with furrows you may store page after page with sacred letters, and the work of God may be sown on the parchment, which, when the harvest is ripe,—that is, when the book is completed,—may fill hungry readers with abundant fruits, and so heavenly bread may dispel the famine of the soul. If, however, from injury to your sight, or from headache, or from the wearisome sameness, you cannot or will not be content with this one manual employment, make a variety of other handyworks —make combs for combing and cleaning the heads of the brethren, with skilful hand and well-instructed feet turn needle-cases, hollow out vessels for wine, or try to put them together, and if there are any marshy places near by [growing flags or rushes] weave mats on which you may always or frequently pray, bedew with daily or frequent tears, and wear out with frequent genuflexions before God."[1]

Possessed of these details and suggestions, we can form some idea, vague though it may be, of the life led by the Lincluden sisterhood. Much of it, however, must have been imperfectly known even at the time to persons outside. Pent up in their

[1] Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 451, 452.

cloisters, the general public could not witness the piety of the vestals nor penetrate their thoughts; yet men, as it has been observed, "are strangely moved by the very sight of walls within which are enclosed women who have devoted their virginity to God, and who are supposed to serve Him without any admixture of those passions which mingle so largely in other breasts; and no doubt the very existence of nunneries, and the religious mystery which shrouded their inmates, must have had their power in moulding the piety of the times, though it was unconsciously exercised, and too secret in its operations to be traced."[1]

Judging from the dimensions of the original building, the sisters under vow within it at any time would not number more than twenty-five, if so many. Some similar establishments—the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby, for instance,—contained both monks and nuns; it is supposed by some chroniclers, but without any proof, that this may have been the case also at Lincluden, though, as the house was ruled over by a female, the inference may be safely drawn that the celibates of her own sex would greatly outnumber their male associates; and the latter, for anything that is known to the contrary, may have been restricted to an officiating priest and one or two assistants. Several girls under training—each, shall we say,

> "Young and fair" like "Sister Clare,
> As yet a novice unprofessed"—

would besides be included; certainly also a lay domestic servant or two; and, living outside, sundry non-clerical officials, having for special duty the oversight of the temporalities with which the house was endowed. The nuns were presumed to be cut off from all intercourse with the outer world, and practically the narrow cells assigned to them were the homes day and night of the virgin sisterhood. Necessarily the life led by the recluses would

[1] Dr. Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 83.

be somewhat monotonous, and, unless when sublimated by true heart consecration, would often feel irksome. Yet their matin and vesper chants, their counting of beads, their service at communion and festival seasons, would doubtless be diversified by reading, by the use of the needle in Dorcas work, or embroidery, by alms-giving, by acts of hospitality; not to speak of an occasional dish of gossip, if the statement may be hazarded, that feminine human nature is not always raised above the relish of such a luxury by being pent within the walls of a convent.

Then the scenery around them, so softly sweet—the green pastures and the still waters, was fitted of itself to soothe the minds of the sisterhood; and the garden within the gates would be to many of them a source of pure delight when tending its products of utility and beauty—"fondling the flowers," it may be, not amid "the sobbing rain," but moistened with their own dewlike tears. Sufficient it was to some of the celibates that the Abbey afforded a retreat from the world "when crazed by care, or crossed by hapless love," or heartbroken by cruel bereavements; as in the case of the despairing Lady Kirkpatrick, who, after her husband had been basely murdered by the rival claimant of her fair hand, Sir John Lindsay, was made by the poet to say,

"To sweet Lincluden's holy cells
Fu' dowie I'll repair;
There peace wi' gentle patience dwells—
Nae deadly feuds are there.
In tears I'll wither ilka charm,
Like draps o' balefu' dew,
And wail the beauty that could harm
A knight sae brave and true."[1]

Yet the sad thought forces itself upon us that the Nunnery might at times become a veritable prison-house to some unfortunate

[1] Charles Kirkpatrick-Sharpe's Ballad, *The Murder of Caerlaverock.*

refugee who, after having vowed to renounce all earthly love, found, when too late, that an Abelard in the world outside who had won her heart's affections still retained hold of them. And then what could the poor maiden do but soliloquise like the lost Eloisa :—

> "Relentless walls! whose darksome round contains
> Repentant sighs, and voluntary pains:
> Shrines! where their vigils pale-eyed virgins keep,
> And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep!
> Though cold like you, unmoved and silent grown,
> I have not yet forgot myself to stone!"[1]

Nine years passed along, during which the Benedictine sisters of Lincluden maintained "the even tenor of their way," their establishment, it may be, growing in repute, and its history remaining as uneventful as their occupation was monotonous. But there came a day in the autumn of 1174 when the uniformity of their experience was broken up by startling tidings from the vicinity of the county town, announcing the tragedy that has already been foreshadowed: a mounted messenger—"bloody with spurring, fiery red with haste"—it may be presumed, making known to them that the castle of Loch Fergus in which Lord Uchtred dwelt had been besieged by the forces of his brother, that it had been captured by assault, and that their noble patron himself had been murdered under circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. If ever the vestals of Lincluden sang the doleful *Dies Iræ* or the deeply pathetic *De Profundis* in their service, it would be on the receipt of the terrible news; and whereas they had prayed hitherto that his days might be long in the land which he adorned, they would in tremulous tones say masses for the repose of the soul that had been so suddenly sent to the bar of Heaven's assize; and we can scarcely be wrong in supposing that the walls of the sacred edifice would long reverberate with the voice of sorrow.

[1] Pope's *Abelard and Eloisa.*

The report sent from Loch Fergus Castle proved to be only too true. Gilbert coveted the whole of Galloway for himself, and in order to gratify his guilty ambition he seized the fortress on the 22d of September 1174 and put his brother to death, subjecting him first to horrible treatment. So shocking were the aggravations which accompanied the murder, that we would be disposed to discredit them were they not, as Lord Hailes says, testified to by all our historians.[1] The tongue of the gentle Uchtred was cut from his mouth, his eyes were put out, and a grosser outrage still was perpetrated upon him, *abscissis testiculis*, before death came to his relief; all this, too, done at the instance of the man who, when a child, had been dandled on the same maternal knee as his victim. Surely we may say of the crime in the words of Shakspeare:—

> "This is the very top,
> The height, the crest, or crest unto the crest
> Of murder's arms; this is the bloodiest shame,
> The wildest savagery, the vilest stroke
> That ever wall-eyed wrath or staring rage
> Presented to the tears of soft remorse."

Throughout Nithsdale the news of the tragedy would create a painful sensation, yet we do not read of any attempts being made by its rulers to avenge the slaughter of their kinsman. William the Lion, who had come under an oath of allegiance to Henry II. in order to recover his personal freedom, took no adequate steps for the punishment of Gilbert, lest, we suppose, he should offend his English superior. The fratricide knew full well that he had little to fear from his nominal sovereign, and that the protection which he needed so much must come from England, and be secured at any cost.

Human life was not looked upon as such a sacred thing in

[1] *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 128.

these rude, fighting times as it is with us; but the life taken in this instance was that of a brother, and Gilbert, Prince though he was, could not affect to treat the slaughter by him of his father's son as an ordinary act of homicide. With no "compunctious visitings" was he troubled. He did not exclaim, with the conscience-stricken king in the play,

> "What if this cursed hand
> Were thicker than itself with brother's blood,
> Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
> To wash it white as snow?"

All that Gilbert seems to have concerned himself about, was the maintenance of his credit with King Henry, letting the Church, if she liked or dared, put him under ban. He did not, therefore, appear before the Bishop of Galloway as a contrite penitent; nor did he lay rich offerings of atonement on the altar of Lincluden Abbey; nor yet did he try to compound for his crime by offers of restitution, partial or complete, to his nephew Rolland, the youthful son of his victim. None of these courses did the fratricide pursue, but, proceeding to the English Court, he threw himself on the protection of King Henry; and got it too, on engaging to give that monarch £1000 sterling, though the amount actually paid did not do much towards the enrichment of the royal coffers. The reader will recollect how Sir Walter Scott makes Marmion heedless about incurring the wrath of the Church, with which he was threatened, so long as he could count upon the protection of England's king:—

> "Himself proud Henry's favourite peer,
> Held Romish thunders idle fear,
> Secure his pardon he might hold,
> For some slight mulct of penance gold;"

and so Gilbert of Galloway purchased exemption from the pen-

alties which his crime involved, if not absolution for the crime itself, in the way just set forth. This transaction between him and Henry, however scandalous it may seem to us, was by no means out of keeping with the beliefs and customs of mediæval times. It was first brought to light, we believe, by Lord Hailes; but it was left to an eminent antiquary of our own day, Mr. Joseph Bain, to furnish the true business details of the ugly bargain; which he has done in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.*[1]

We thus learn that there are numerous entries in the royal ledger of small sums paid to account by Gilbert, the first of them running as follows, under date 1179: "Gilbert, son of Fergus, accounts for £1000 for having the King's *benevolence.*" Here we have a rare example of courtly euphuism: a nobleman kills his brother, compounds for the horrible crime by a pecuniary offering to the King, and the Clerk of the Treasury calls the monarch's compound with the murderer—"a benevolence"![2] The minute closes thus:—"Has paid in the Chamber of the Court (*camera curie*) £80: 11s. by the hands of Robert de Vallibas; and he owes £920: 9s. In 1182 we read, "Gilbert son of Fergus accounts for £917: 9s. for having the King's benevolence. He has paid into the Treasury £30; and he owes £887: 9s." During the next two years he further reduced his liabilities by a trifle. Gilbert died in 1185, after a troublous rule over Galloway of eleven years,[3] and when

[1] Vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

[2] English history furnishes not a few instances of "benevolences" so called, though none of such turpitude as the above. "Benevolences," says Professor Thorold Rogers, "were gifts or loans from wealthy citizens and others, pressed for with impunity, and exacted with disguised force. Such gifts had been conveniently made to kings in earlier times, but Edward IV. is reported to have systematised the custom."—*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 316.

[3] "At that time, in the year 1185, died that lover and wager of civil war, Gilbert son of Fergus, he who had wickedly killed his brother Ochtred, after he had cut out his tongue, and put out his eyes. Nowe this was sure to happen by the will of God, who in his loving-kindness hearkeneth unto the constant crying of the poor and needy, and gladly snatcheth them from the hands of the stronger."—Fordun's *Chronicle*, p. 264.

called upon to pay the debt of nature, and to appear before the High Court above, in which no guilt-compounding bribes are taken, £917 : 19s. of the hush-money he had promised King Henry remained unpaid; and it was never forthcoming afterwards. But Henry, by taking Gilbert under his wing, was all the better enabled to feather his own nest in Galloway.

There is a tradition that the mutilated body of Uchtred was buried in Lincluden Abbey;[1] but though this may have been the case, no trace of his tomb is visible among its ruins; and indeed it is not likely that the ruffians who put him to death in the horrible manner we have stated would give Christian burial to his remains. But the edifice itself, fragmentary though it is, constitutes a fitting monument of the unfortunate Prince, and to the pensive melancholy of its aspect a deeper shade is given by the memory of his fate.

He left a son, Rolland, who made a brave but vain attempt to maintain his hereditary rights against his unnatural uncle; but no sooner had Gilbert been removed by death than the son of Uchtred rose in arms and, assisted by the Scottish King, defeated the Gilbert faction and slew their leader Gilpatrick.[2] King Henry, afraid of losing his hold of Galloway, assembled a large army at Carlisle in 1186 for the purpose of invading the province. Rolland fortified all its passes and made other preparations for a desperate resistance; in view of which Henry proposed a peaceful compromise that was approved of by both parties. According to its terms Rolland not only regained the power and territory of which his father had been deprived, but was made Lord over the entire province, with the exception of Carrick, which was then a part of it, on condition that he would give up that district to Duncan, the son of Gilbert, and swear fealty to the English King. This important convention was ratified by the King of Scots, his

[1] Grose, p. 271.

[2] *Benedictus Abbas*, pp. 448, 449.

brother David, and all his great barons, they also promising upon oath that if Rolland proved untrue to it they would combine to punish him. The Church, as we have seen, launched no thunderbolts against the fratricidal Gilbert; but when the son of his victim made terms with the murderer's representatives, the Bishop of Glasgow was ready enough, it appears, to come under pledge that all the spiritual artillery at his disposal would be directed against Rolland should he be tempted to violate the treaty; and this threat of the Prelate, we are told, was uttered "*coram omnibus, et sanctorum reliquiis*" (with full heart, and in presence of the relics of saints), in order to give it increased significance.[1]

Rolland, however, inherited all the good qualities of his father and grandfather, and needed no threats from king or bishop to keep him in the path of honour. Like them, too, he was liberal to the Church, founding the Priory of Glenluce and giving valuable grants to the brethren of Dryburgh and Kelso; and it may be fairly assumed that a share of his bounty would also be allotted to the sisters of Lincluden. Henry II. died in 1189; his successor, Richard I., resolved to go on a crusading expedition to Palestine, and he received the money required, ten thousand marks, from William the Lion on condition of restoring the independence of Scotland. This arrangement brought a blessed peace to both kingdoms, which lasted fully a century; and to no portion of either of them was it more welcome than to the Lordship of Galloway. Henceforth its owner Rolland had a happy time of it, which contrasted pleasantly with the trials of his youthhood and prime. He married Ela or Helena, daughter of Richard Morville, Constable of Scotland; and at the death of his brother-in-law, William, in 1196, he succeeded to the great estates of the family, and also to the constableship. Able, wise, and patriotic, he died full of honours early in 1210, leaving his dignities and wealth to his

[1] *Benedictus Abbas*, pp. 449, 450.

eldest son Alan, who proved to be the last and greatest Lord of the M'Dowall line "that ever Galloway saw."

His daughter, the far-famed Devorgilla, was the most munificent lady of her day in Scotland. A spiritual enthusiast, she also possessed a large amount of practical sagacity; and while her liberality manifested itself in erecting quite as many monastic establishments as those which owed their origin to her ancestor Fergus, she also spent much of her wealth in erecting a bridge over the Nith at Dumfries, in founding a college in Oxford University, named after her husband John Baliol, and in deeds of charity and benevolence.

We have sometimes been tempted to hazard the conjecture that it must have been the bountiful lady who united the Dumfriesshire and Galloway sides of the Nith by a bond of masonry, who also joined them in another manner by a tunnel under the river, already referred to, if the underground passage between Lincluden Abbey and the Castle of Dumfries which tradition speaks of had ever any real existence. She had plenty of money to spare for this object had its attainment been desirable; but Uchtred, as we have already seen, was not very opulent, and it can scarcely be supposed that after founding and endowing the Abbey he would further reduce his resources by constructing an appendage to it that could well enough be dispensed with. Why, it may well be asked, should there have been a roadway of this kind brought into existence? There was no absolute necessity for it. It would have been at variance with the coveted isolation of the Abbey; and its strategic benefits to the castle, by affording a secret means of obtaining supplies to its defenders, or egress when hardly pressed, are at best problematical.

If the castle had stood near by and been the family seat of the M'Dowalls, the reason for a subterranean connection between it and the Abbey would have been more apparent, but the fortress

belonged to the Crown, unless when temporarily held by a foreign enemy, and it was situated a mile below "the meeting of the waters,"—a circumstance which in itself renders the existence of the passage highly improbable. As we have already stated, no certain trace of such a thing has ever been obtained, and we fear the story about it ought to be set down as mythical, though it is so fascinatingly romantic that we wish it were true. How vexatious it is to learn, on the high authority of Mr. Bloxham, that similar tales are told about other monastic establishments, and that the traditionary tunnels are all resolvable into prosaic yet highly useful openings for the outlet of sewage![1]

[1] "The sewers of the monasteries," says Mr. Bloxham, "were good, and in sanitary matters these structures were far in advance of the ages in which they were constructed. The position of a monastery was in general fixed close to a river or flowing stream, into which the sewers were carried, ofttimes under the refectory. At Tinterton a sewer is carried under the remains of the Abbots' Lodgings. At Malling, Kent, eastward of the site of the church, is a very deep and large sewer. The size indeed of some of these sewers has evidently given rise to those stories often prevalent of subterranean passages of unknown but immense length, leading from this or that particular monastery to, indeed, we know not where."—*Ecclesiastical Gothic Architecture.*

CHAPTER III.

THE ABBEY.

Uchtred's relatives receive grants of land in Ireland from Henry II.—Services rendered to the King by Uchtred's nephew Duncan—Bruce, son of the competitor, marries the granddaughter of Duncan—Bruce, the Hero-King, a son of this marriage—Alianore, Abbess of Lincluden, pays homage to Edward I.—The province given by King Robert to his brother Edward Bruce—Rise of the Douglases—Their chief, Archibald the Grim, becomes Lord of Galloway—He suppresses Lincluden and appropriates its endowments—Fate of the ejected Sisters not known—Probable flight of their last Abbess to Dundrennan Abbey.

JUST two years before the slaughter of Uchtred Ireland was subdued by Henry II. Both that monarch and one of his successors, John, received assistance in their wars, foreign and domestic, from Uchtred's descendants, they, in return for it, obtaining grants of land in the conquered country. Thus the connection between the people of the province and the cradle-land of their ancestors acquired additional strength, and the relationship of its rulers to the Kings of England became increasingly cordial. About the period of Rolland's death we find his cousin Duncan rendering somewhat inglorious service to King John by seizing Matillidis, the wife of a rebel baron, William de Breosa, and their two sons, who fled to Carrick for refuge, while Breosa himself was a fugitive in Ireland. The King, reporting the incident, states that it had occurred while he was besieging Carrickfergus Castle; and

he speaks of the captor as being "a certain friend and cousin of mine, Duncan de Karyc of Galweya." In the royal narrative it is further stated that the King sent John de Curey and Godfrey de Craucumb in two galleys, with a band of crossbowmen, to receive the prisoners from Duncan; that when brought before him Matillidis offered a huge sum—50,000 marks—by way of a *solatium;* that afterwards she admitted that "24 marks of silver, 24 shillings in bizants, and 15 ounces of gold," constituted the whole of her available wealth; so, says John in closing, "after proclaiming William from county to county, I outlawed him according to the law and custom of England."[1]

Duncan was the first who bore a title, which was destined to become a famous one in Scottish history, since, as Burns tells us,

> "Among the bonnie winding banks,
> Where Doon rins wimpling clear,
> Where Bruce once ruled the martial ranks
> And shook his Carrick spear."

A slight connection between Bruce of Annandale and Gilbert of Galloway, when their names appeared together in a royal charter, has already been noticed; and we now proceed to show how the grandson of Bruce and the great-granddaughter of Gilbert were brought into the closest possible relationship. Duncan, son of the fratricide, was succeeded by his son Niel, who left one daughter, Marjory, but no male offspring. This lady therefore became Countess of Carrick in her own right. One eventful day, some time in 1274, not long after the Countess had lost her husband, a gallant crusader with a small escort rode through the grounds surrounding her castle of Turnberry, just as she, attended by a large hunting train, happened to pass. Struck by his handsome appearance, and feeling persuaded that the stranger would prove a good matrimonial prize, the Countess, careless about stags, wild boars,

[1] Bain's *Historical Documents*, vol. i. p. 82.

and other creatures of the chase, resolved on making a bold dash at higher game. In a trice the cavalier found himself environed by the lady's attendants, while the bridle of his horse was seized by her own fair hand. Consigned to an apartment of the castle before he could recover from his surprise, he was there wooed and eventually won by his captor, the enamoured amazon of Carrick. Need it be said that the prisoned knight was none other than the eldest son of Robert Bruce, who afterwards competed for the Scottish crown, and whose claims to it were set aside by Edward I. in favour of those of John Baliol?

The Countess, being a royal ward, could not marry without the sovereign's approval. On this account Bruce demurred to her overtures, but after fifteen days of gentle durance he consented to become Lord of Carrick for her sake; and King Alexander, placated by a handsome present, soon gave his sanction to the match.

Truly a romantic courtship. Of transcendent importance was the marriage to which it led, since there was born of it a child in whose life the national cause of Scotland was bound up, and which as a man he triumphantly championed. Traced backward for three generations we see that his great-grandfather by the mother's side was the fratricide of the founder of Lincluden: traced forward from his birthday onward for forty years, we see him as the saviour of his country at Bannockburn; and from his loins springing a line of royal personages which is represented in our own day by the present gracious ruler of these realms, Queen Victoria. Commenting on the descent of the Hero-King from Gilbert of Galloway, Mr. Bain says of Bruce: "Perhaps the one treacherous occurrence in that great man's career, the slaughter of the Red Comyn, may be traceable to his wild Galwegian blood;"[1] yet the deed was at worst "the wild justice of revenge" perpetrated

[1] *Historical Documents*, Introduction to vol. i. p. 21.

under strong provocation; and the after-life of Bruce, irrespective of his consummate statesmanship and prowess, showed that he had inherited in a pre-eminent degree the personal virtues of his ancestor Lord Fergus.

The connection of Bruce with the founder of Lincluden gives a charm of its own to the memories of the Abbey; it was afterwards renewed when one of his direct descendants was buried under its roof. With the rival family of the Baliols Lincluden is also intimately associated. Rolland, as we have seen, was succeeded in the Lordship of Galloway by Alan, one of whose three daughters, the illustrious Devorgilla, became the wife of John Baliol of Barnard Castle. It was their son John who was adjudged the crown of Scotland by Edward I. when he acted as umpire among the competitors, and who for a brief period bore nominal rule as King, till the rapacious English sovereign took the sceptre into his own hands. During the succession war the M'Dowalls were always found on the side of their kinsman Baliol, though the Earl of Carrick was their near relative also. Were we to dwell much longer on these family relationships the risk would be incurred of making the frame of the picture more prominent than the picture itself, so little can be said of Lincluden at this period of its history; and indeed its annals as an Abbey are disappointingly meagre from first to last.

When Scotland was temporarily subdued by Edward, the heads of all the religious houses in Galloway paid homage to the usurper; yet some of their establishments suffered much harm during the war. From the "Abbey of our Lady of Dundrennan" came a petition to the King soliciting his protection; and a similar petition was received by him from "the Abbot and Convent of our Lady of Sweetheart," in which they prayed him to confirm them in the lands they held in charter from their foundress Devorgilla, and redress sundry grievances which had reduced them to "great

impoverishment."[1] In all likelihood the community of Lincluden would have similar complaints to make, as their live stock, corn, and other goods were in dangerous proximity to the English garrison at Dumfries.

It was on the 28th of August 1296 that Alianore, Prioress of Lincluden del Counte de Dunfrès, presented herself at Berwick-on-Tweed to swear fealty to the English King. An immense number of notables were there at the same time for the same purpose, their names and seals making up what is called "The Ragman Roll"—a valuable document, though it is the abiding shadow of a dark page in Scottish history. It appears that the homagers were sworn in companies, Alianore being one of thirty-six, all males save herself, who went through the humiliating ceremony at the same moment. Their signatures were not appended, their names being simply recorded by clerical officials and authenticated by seals.[2]

Galloway, exceptional in many things, did not view the victory of Bruce at Bannockburn, which cancelled all the dishonourable obligations entered into at Berwick, with unmixed delight; since the blow which seated him securely on the throne and established his country's independence helped to bring about the downfall of the M'Dowall dynasty. As Lord Alan, when he died in 1234, left no male issue, his territorial possessions devolved on Devorgilla and his two other daughters. An interregnum in the Lordship,

[1] This petition is thus entered in Mr. Bain's *Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 286 :—"The Abbot and Convent of our Lady of Sweetheart in Galloway prays the King (1) to confirm the lands held by charter of their founder and others and grant warren; (2) protection for their lands and men, and relief from seignurages and talliages imposed contrary to their franchise and founder's charter to their great impoverishment, whereby they can neither maintain themselves, the service of God, nor the alms of their house; (3) restoration of $8\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of good wool taken for the King by Sir Harseulf de Cleseby out of a grange at Holm Coltram [an abbey on the English side of the Solway], where they had placed it for safety from the Scots in the 25th year [of Edward's English reign]; (4) to remember their destruction and burning in the war, which they place at £5000 and more, in his grace."

[2] Not a few of the seals are still extant, but that of Lincluden has disappeared.

due to the non-existence of a male inheritor and the troubles of the period, prevailed for many years; and it could scarcely be said to have ceased when Devorgilla's son bore nominal sway over the province, nor even when it was granted by King Robert to his brother Edward, as that brave knight was slain in Ireland soon after receiving the gift. Not till a new family—that of the Douglases—acquired ascendency in Galloway as a result of the War of Independence, was the vacancy left by Alan thoroughly filled up.

David II., recognising their valuable services to the Crown, bestowed a peerage on one of their chiefs, Sir William Douglas, nephew of the Good Sir James, the first possessed by the family; and to Archibald, the natural son of the latter, he granted that part of the province which lies between the Nith and the Cree. No sooner had Archibald Douglas become the new ruler of Eastern Galloway than he, like the Gilbert of a preceding reign, resorted to unscrupulous means for acquiring its Western or Wigtownshire division, and thus manifested a grasping covetousness which clung to him through life. Though Thomas Fleming, who was at that time Earl of Wigtown, wished to live on good terms with his neighbour, he found this to be impossible; and when the choice of either selling his superiority for a paltry sum or having to uphold it by the sword was in effect presented to him, he preferred the pacific alternative. Archibald Douglas, not content with this profitable bargain, soon afterwards secured a still greater prize. On the slaughter of his illustrious uncle, James, the second Earl, at Otterburn in 1388, without direct issue, he, says Chalmers, "obtained from the imbecility of Robert II. the high honours and the original estates of the house of Douglas;" thus becoming "the most powerful as well as the most oppressive subject of Scotland."[1] Married to Jean, heiress of her father Thomas Moray, Lord of Bothwell, Douglas acquired with her the Lordship of Bothwell, and

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 268.

thereupon added to his armorial bearing, which was argent, in chief, azure, the three stars of Moray.[1] The first Douglas who bore rule over undivided Galloway, and the third Earl of Douglas, he is best known in history as Archibald the Grim—a surname due to his dark visage, with its sinister expression, which accorded so thoroughly with his evil deeds. "Even one," says Scott, "who had never seen Archibald Earl of Douglas must have known him by his swart complexion, his gigantic frame, and his air of courage, firmness, and sagacity, united with indomitable pride."[2] If it would scarcely be just to say of this grim Lord,

> "Where'er his frown of hatred darkly fell,
> Hope withering fled and mercy sighed farewell"—

it is yet true that when prosecuting his own selfish ends he allowed no sentiments of justice or pity to temper his heart or restrain his hand. How remorseless he could be, and often was, the Benedictine Sisters of Lincluden learned, among many others, in their own sad experience.

For more than a generation prior to the close of the fourteenth century the Scottish sceptre was swayed by feeble hands; and to have kept Archibald Douglas under curb would have required a ruler of Bruce's own masterful stamp. The English influence in Galloway was now a thing of the past; and its new chief eradicated from it as far as he was able all its remaining Celtic elements. It thus became to a large extent assimilated with the rest of Lowland Scotland; yet, more perhaps than ever, was it an independent province, receiving law from its own Prince alone. While still professing to be a loyal subject of Robert II., who had been so generous to him, Douglas through life played the bad part of a lawless autocrat, just as if he owed the King neither gratitude nor obedience. For the old fortlet of Thrieve, on an island in the Dee,

[1] Douglas' *Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 220.

[2] *Fair Maid of Perth*, chap. xi.

he substituted a powerful new stronghold, which became the centre of a despotism that was experienced over all the wide district of Galloway, East and West.

Yet the grim Earl, like nearly all the magnates of his race, was noted for valour, and for mental not less than bodily strength. Caring little for Pope or Prelate, and rarely allowing the claims of morality or the requirements of justice to cross his own ambitious schemes, he was at times bountiful and generous: pious too after a sort,—witness the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, Lanarkshire, which he founded; the restoration by him of the Abbey of Holywood, Dumfriesshire, that had been ruined during the Succession War; and also the confirmation charter granted by him of lands to support an Hospital erected by Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, within the bounds of the same Abbey.[1]

All the darker traits of his character, however, seem to have been developed in his treatment of another religious house—the one to which this narrative relates. A man of his stamp could not but grieve to see so much of the best land in Galloway that had belonged to his predecessors possessed by its monastic communities. We can fancy that he was often tempted to take back with the strong hand some of the rich estates that had been given away at the dictate of pietistic enthusiasm by Fergus, Uchtred, and Devorgilla. He stood in no awe of the Crown, and if he respected the proprietary rights of his ecclesiastical neighbours it must have been because he did not care about encroaching upon them at the risk of breaking entirely with the Church. Yet had not the Regent Albany's brother a few years before fastened a quarrel upon the Bishop of Moray, and in prosecuting it plundered

[1] On the subject of this charter, Douglas states in his *Peerage* that the Hospital was founded by "Edward de Brus, King of Ireland," that its erection was confirmed by Robert II., and that the charter received from Archibald Earl of Douglas endowed the Hospital with the lands of Crossmichael and Troquere. But these lands still belonged to Lincluden when the College was suppressed, towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Elgin Cathedral and then committed the sacred building to the flames, and that too without having been visited by a Papal interdict?

The example set by this sacrilegious brigand was a temptation to Douglas; he, however, did not yield to it: but ere long an opportunity arose, which he eagerly seized, for confiscating to himself by a safer process all the property of Uchtred's Abbey, and expelling its inmates from house and home. He did not proceed in the ferocious style of Albany's brother, "the Wolf of Badenoch." Were we to say that he came down on the undefended fold of Lincluden in wolfish style, the metaphor might seem to be too strong; yet, judged by the result of his actions, it would not be far off the right mark.

His pretext was, gross irregularities on the part of the celibates. A rumour had reached Thrieve to that effect, which he was not slow to credit. It was affirmed that they had broken their vows of chastity, and were no longer the virgin brides of heaven. How far this charge was true—whether it might not have been trumped up without any foundation, for a base purpose—these are points which we cannot determine. The chroniclers of the period did little to clear up the mystery; it remains, to us at least, a mystery still. The strongest defenders of the monastic system admit that even in its earliest and purest days it was not always free from taint; and certainly the presence of male celebrants, permanently or occasionally, in houses set apart for celibates of the weaker sex, as was the case in all convents like Lincluden, could not have been unattended with risk, except on the impossible theory that the nuns rose above the influence of mundane things when they took the world-renouncing vow, and put on a spiritual nature when they took the veil. The likelihood is, we fear, that in this instance the sisters were not immaculate—that they must have been guilty of some "irregularities," less or more. Had this not been the case, Douglas, with all his audacity,

must, we think, have shrunk from treating them as if they had been impenitent Magdalenes who deserved no mercy. The historian of his house, Hume of Godscroft, does not say that the disorders which tempted the intervention of Douglas constituted a public scandal. Major, however, boldly affirms that "the dismissal of the female devotees" was due to their own "insolence," and that if they had not been conspicuous for their incontinence, the "good Earl" would have left them unharmed.

But taking the case against them at its worst, why, it may be asked, were the accused not subjected to trial in an ecclesiastical court, as was required by the canon law of the period? During the preceding reign Dryburgh Abbey was the scene of certain flagrant offences that were dealt with by the Abbot and taken cognisance of by the Pope. "It was found that strife and debate had existed and blows had been dealt, not only among themselves but to other religious. Some of the brethren had infringed the rule which forbade the possession of private property; some had obtained admission into the convent by simony, and others who lay under censures had been admitted to holy orders. For these offences they had been excommunicated, and could not be lawfully restored without personally appearing at Rome before the Pope. The observance of this obligation made matters rather worse; for in so long a journey, during which those under ban were necessarily removed from notice and control, they were apt to fall into irregularities, to wander about at their ease, and to contract vagabond habits. These things being stated to Pope Gregory XI., he, in the second year of his pontificate [1372], gave the Abbot power, according to his discretion, to absolve the least guilty, upon due penance done; but more enormous offenders were still to be sent to receive correction and absolution at the Papal Court.[1]

Douglas, discarding this and similar precedents, constituted

[1] Gordon's *Monasticon*, pp. 323-324; *Chart. Dryburgh*, 96, v.

himself accuser, jury, and judge, in the case against the unfortunate inmates of Lincluden. If his motives had been unselfish and pure, and his procedure justified by well-supported evidence, he would, while punishing them, have looked upon their property as sacred, and taken means to place it at the disposal of a new sisterhood fresh from France. By pursuing a course of this kind he might have gained repute for being a disinterested though harsh religious disciplinarian. Hume in fact protests that Douglas was solely influenced by "an eye for religion, and a special care for the pure and sincere worship of God"; but then the historian sadly damages his own plea when he candidly adds that the Earl did thereby "greatly increase his revenues, and enlarge his dominions."[1] His appropriation of the Lincluden endowments was a high-handed outrage, though it would be unfair for us to assume that he had prepared the way for it by filching from the nuns their good name—a much greater crime, had he been really guilty of it, than the seizure of their worldly goods.

Quite in accordance with the political relationship which Galloway long bore to England, its see was at this time a good deal dominated over by the Archbishop of York, who seems to have winked at the conduct of Douglas, if it was ever brought under his notice. From none of the spiritual dignitaries of the province did it provoke complaint or remonstrance; they were so much under the thumb of Pope Archibald of Thrieve that they durst not interfere; neither did the Primate of St. Andrews, as head of the Scottish Church, step in to dispute the right of Douglas to sit in judgment on the accused. But, though this page of our monastic annals is black enough as it stands, it might have been rendered darker still if the incriminated nuns had been brought before a sacerdotal conclave like that which, according to the poet, condemned Constance de Beverley to a living tomb.

[1] *House of Douglas*, p. 114.

"Sister professed of Fontevraud,
Whom the Church numbered with the dead
For broken vows, and convent fled;"

the Court consisting of "the heads of convents three"

"All servants of St. Benedict,
The statutes of whose order strict
On iron table lay;"

"The Abbess of St. Hilda there;" and Tynemouth's haughty Prioress, and the blind old Saint of Lindisfarne,

"Upon whose wrinkled brow alone
Nor ruth nor mercy's trace was shown."

Yet, innocent or guilty, the doom meted out to the Lincluden community was crushingly severe. When the Abbey was but an infant institution its walls echoed with the voice of sorrow for its slaughtered founder; often since then, doubtless, afflictive dispensations would fall to the lot of its inmates; but these trials must have been small compared with the ordeal through which they had to pass, from the day when the terrible charge against them was launched, till the bolt of ruin following rapidly in its train drove them from their retreat, beggared and dishonoured; the cup of affliction being peradventure rendered increasingly bitter for some of them by an ingredient of remorse. What came of them is not known; but they would surely obtain shelter in some hospicium, in the event of no monastic house opening its gates for their reception. On their enforced departure, the institution which Uchtred set up ceased to exist; and it is under such sorrowful circumstances that the historic curtain falls on the Convent of Lincluden.

Not finally, however: let us open up the stage again just for a minute, that we may mark a female figure apparently withdrawing

from it, and bending her steps to the south-west in the direction of Dundrennan Abbey. We cannot be quite sure of her identity, but having regard to the conventual dress she wears, to her troubled aspect, which a veil closely drawn over her face cannot entirely hide, to the haste with which she travels, as if fleeing for sheer life, and to the goal towards which she turns—for was not Dundrennan built by Uchtred's father, Lord Fergus?—taking all these circumstances into account, together with a piece of monumental evidence to be afterwards noticed, the conclusion is, we think, at least a probable one that the forlorn fugitive is none other than the last Lady Prioress of Lincluden. Certain it is, at all events, that about the date of that lady's ignominious expulsion from the house over which she ruled, the figure corresponding to hers whose wanderings we have traced found a home in Dundrennan Abbey; that when she died after a sojourn there of many years, it may have been forty or more, she was buried within its walls, and that a monumental effigy was raised over her dust. Keep up the curtain still for yet another minute, that we may descry this memorial of the dead as it lies in the south transept sadly wasted, and read the inscription upon it, which, as recently deciphered and interpreted, we find to be as follows: "HIC JACET DOMINA BLANCHEA V. SIT DOMINAPR QUONDAM OBIT ANNO D. 1440." "Here lies the Lady Blanche: she was a nun, at one time a Lady Prioress. She died in the year of our Lord 1440." [1]

[1] The Rev. Dr. Hutchison, in his *Memorials of the Abbey of Dundrennan*, in noticing the tombstone, remarks on the singularity of a female being buried within the precincts of a monastery, but he gives no explanation of it or any reading of the inscription; he, venturing simply on the supposition that the nun must have been of the same order as the brethren of the Abbey, though other considerations than co-fraternity might have led to her being buried under its roof. To the late Mr. James Starke, F.S.A. Scot., of Troqueer Holm, an accomplished and enthusiastic antiquary, we are indebted for the suggested explanation of the mystery that is given in the text. See a paper by him on the subject published in *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Session 1863-64.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COLLEGE.

Archibald Douglas transforms the Abbey into a Collegiate Establishment—He adds a magnificent Church with auxiliary buildings to the original fabric—Description of the College and the residence of its Provosts—The Church an "architectural gem"—Its style and ornamentation—The community and revenue of the College—Archibald Tyneman, son of the founder, marries Margaret, daughter of King Robert III.—He assists the King of France against the English, and because of his services is created Duke of Touraine—Is slain in battle—His widow, the Princess Margaret, rules over Galloway till her death—Burial of her remains in a gorgeous tomb at Lincluden.

"BRING me the Book of Tacts that I may see what this house of Lincluden, that I have purged of its sinful inmates, is worth." When the Earl's chamberlain, in obedience to this command, expressed or implied, produces the little folio, we can imagine the grim visage of his master softened by a smile as he glances over its pages, reckoning up the granges, mills, tofts, crofts, and fishings, which belonged to the nuns, but are now his property. Substantially the lands upon the list would be the same as those that made up the Uchtred endowment, but greatly increased in value by the lapse of time, and yielding a goodly increase to his annual income. In the rental book he would find the names of some forty-three farms, varying in extent from the ten merkland of Nunbelly to smaller pendicles, such as

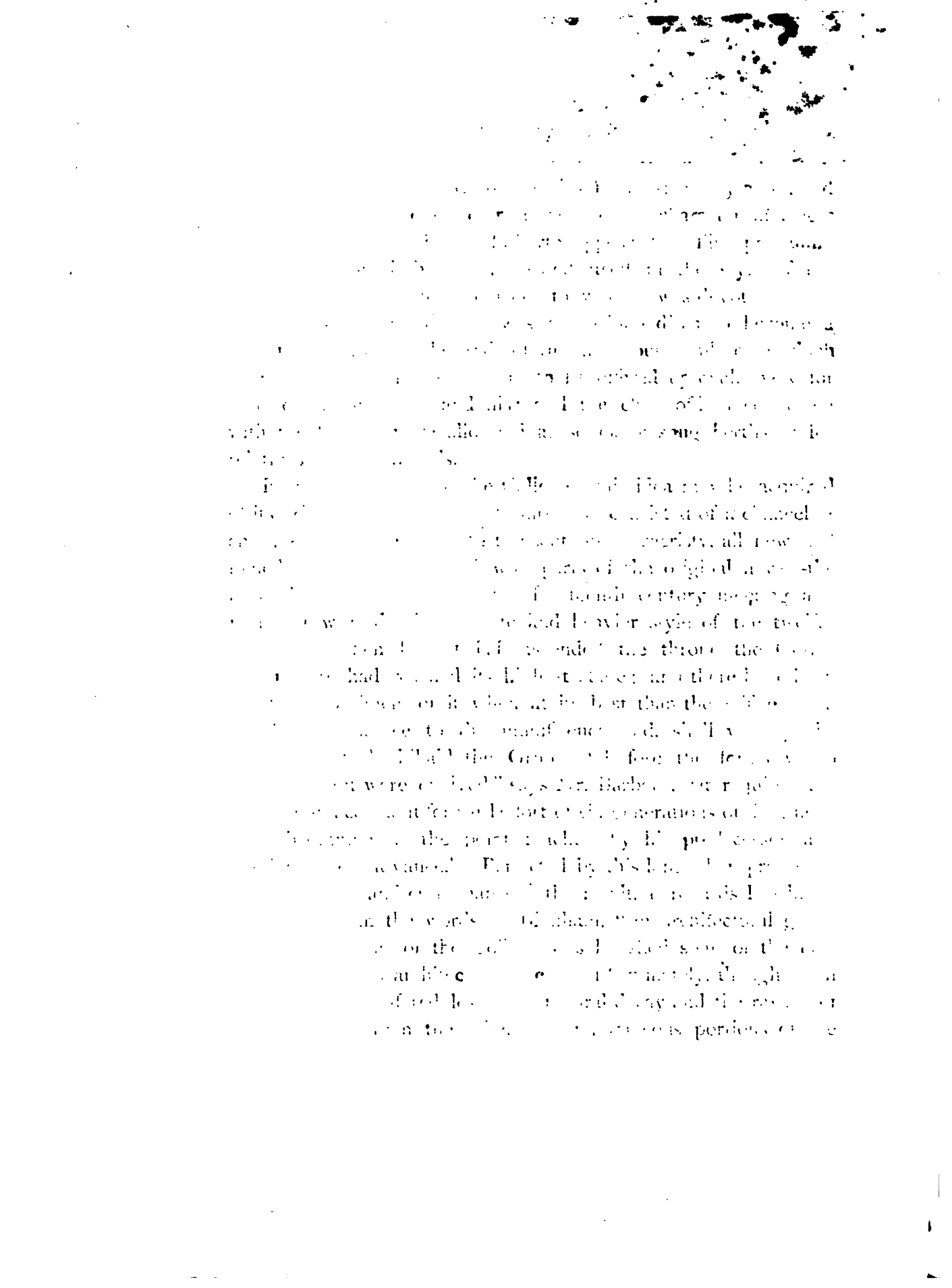
Curriestaines, Mollance, and Clairbrand, each worth five merks annually, down to Ernfillan, valued at two merks, to Cluny and Skillingholme, which yielded only the same sum between them. Money was a very scarce article at this date, and the amount of it placed in the purse of Douglas by the rents of his new property was not great, as they were for the most part paid in meal, poultry, turf for fuel, and other produce.

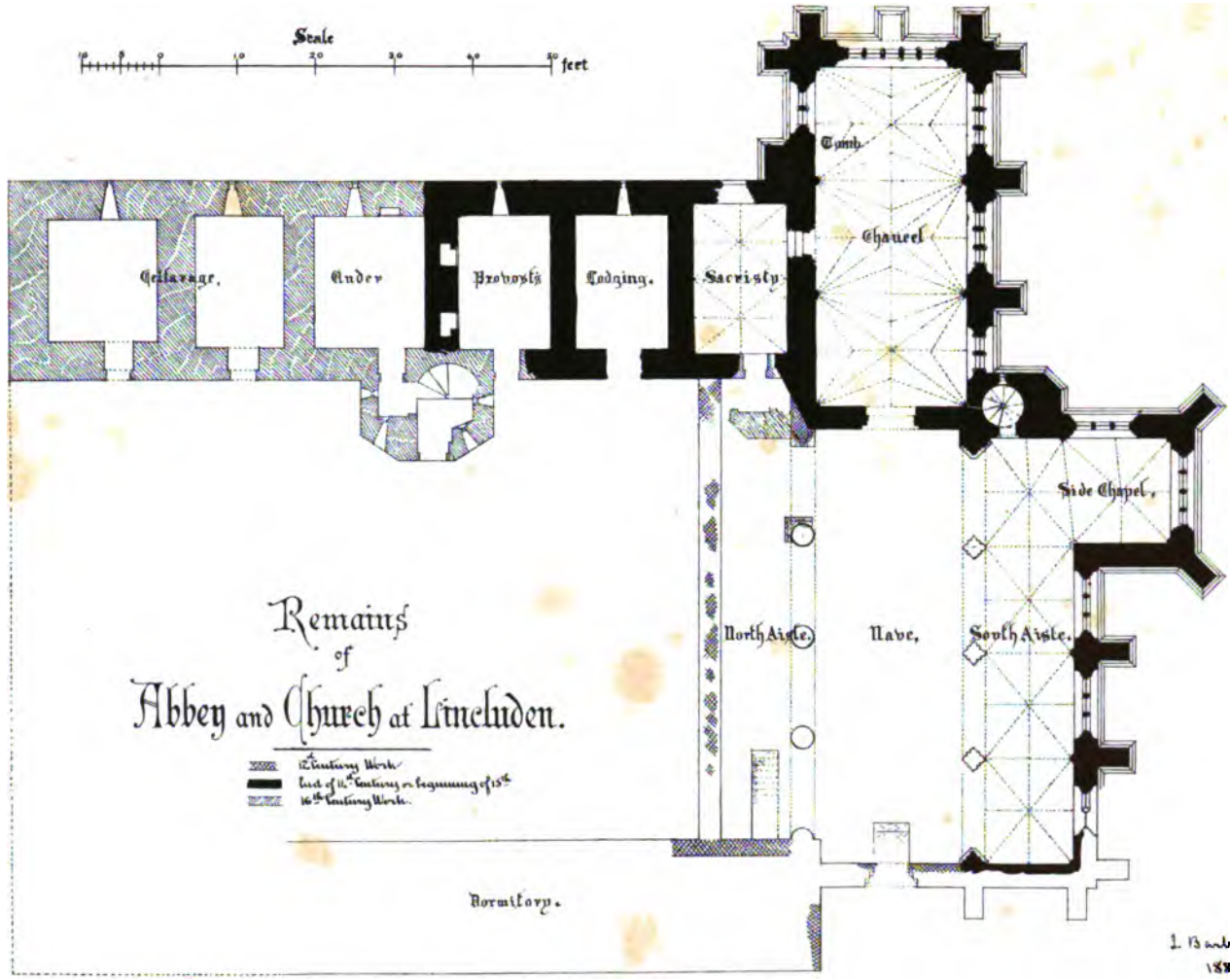
At this period the agriculture of the province was in a very primitive condition. As a rule, the lands in it that belonged to monastic establishments were better cultivated, and were consequently of more value, than those owned by the secular barons, and tilled by their free tenants or bondsmen. But even the Lincluden farms, the names of which at the present day are suggestive of fertility and wealth, included great breadths of moor and bog, some portions worth no more perhaps annually than twopence Scots per acre. From the churches connected with the Abbey a considerable revenue was drawn in the shape of teinds or tithes, the likelihood being that the money and produce by which these tributes were paid, were appropriated along with the temporalities of the establishment by Archibald the Grim.

However gratified the Earl was with his new possessions, the mode in which he had acquired them did not sit easily on his mind. After his cupidity had been sated there came a reaction which, if not quite virtuous, "leaned to virtue's side." With the view of making amends for his sacrilegious sins, and thereby soothing his troubled conscience, he resolved, however strange it may seem, to add a grand new Church to Lincluden, that would, by its architectural splendour, cast the humble Abbey into the shade, and show that he was still a good Catholic and a devoted believer in the tutelary guardian of his house, Saint Bride. On no other theory than this can the erection of the

Collegiate buildings by Lord Douglas be satisfactorily accounted for. Assuming it to be correct, we see his character in a less repulsive light than it has hitherto appeared. The prevailing bent of his mind, however, showed itself in the style of the structure; and also in the purpose to which it was devoted. The heraldry of its architecture was so fashioned as to become a perpetual oblation to the pride of the illustrious family over which he ruled; its altar-masses were to be offered up exclusively for their everlasting weal and his; and the chief offices connected with the Church were allocated as so many snug berths to his relatives or other friends.

From the remains of the College a fair idea may be acquired of its pristine form, size, and beauty. It consisted of a chancel or choir, a south aisle, a south transept, and a sacristy, all new, and joined on to the west end, with parts of the original nave—the light florid architecture of the fourteenth century meeting and mingling with the less ornate and heavier style of the twelfth century. When Robert III. ascended the throne the Gothic architecture had reached its highest stage; and there have been few finer specimens of it when at its best than the edifice which owed its existence to the munificence and, shall we say, the contrition of Archibald the Grim. "Before the forms which characterise it were evolved," says Mr. Barbour, "it required the thought and constant forward effort of six generations of designers, each beginning at the point reached by his predecessor, and making a new advance." Perfected by this long, slow process of artistic genius and craftsmanship, the result, as regards Lincluden Church, was, in the words of Bloxham, "an architectural gem." On that cynosure of the College was lavished some of the best work of the best architectural age; and fortunately, though much wasted, it has suffered less from natural decay and the ravage of human hands than the other contemporaneous portions of the




Scale
0 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet
Tomb
Chancel
Cellarage.
Ambry
Provost's
Lodging.
Sacristy
Side Chapel.
North Aisle.
Nave.
South Aisle.
Remains
of
Abbey and Church at Lincluden.
12th Century Work
Last of 11th Century or beginning of 13th
16th Century Work.
Normitory.
J. Bamborough
1845.

building, all of which, if a degree less ornate, were scarcely inferior to it in beauty. The length of the Church is about forty-four feet; its width nineteen feet six inches. Though thus small, its magnitude is amplified to the eye by the unusually large size of the corbels, capitals, crocketing, and ornamental work with which it abounds.

It is entered from the nave at the west end through a massive stone screen, the arch of which is straight-lined in the head and richly carved at the angles, the east or inner side being straight and plain. In the south wall are three spacious windows with canopied stone sedilia below, in which sat the celebrants of high mass; a piscina within a very florid niche opening on the right, in which they washed their hands before officiating at the high altar. The large window which lets in light from the east overlooked the altar, an object that has long since vanished—three brackets on which it lay, however, still remaining. In the north wall there are two windows entire, and, eastward of these, one rendered peculiar by a piece of masonry connected with a gorgeous tomb jutting into its lower half. In this place of sepulture were laid the ashes of Bruce's descendant, the daughter-in-law of Archibald the Grim—a circumstance that invests the College with even more repute than that which it derives from its artistic embellishments, with their treasures of heraldic lore relating to the Douglas race.

Throughout the choir indeed, the escutcheons of the founder and his kinsmen constitute the main feature of the ornamentation. In all cases the charges are gracefully designed and delicately cut, and the shields are interlaced with carved foliage in a way that gives relief to forms that might otherwise have been bald or tame. Further variety is given by the introduction of six objects representing cherubim. Of solid stone, these figures seem to be poised in air as they spring from the walls to carry the superincumbent shafts—this being the chief duty assigned to them, though two

bear also uninscribed scrolls, and other two are playing on musical instruments.

A doorway, vying in richness of effect with the tomb which it neighbours, gives access to the sacristy on the north side of the choir; another doorway in the east wall of the south aisle opens into a circular stair leading to a place that was deemed peculiarly sacred—the rood loft, on which stood a figure of our Lord on the Cross, with attendant images representing probably the Virgin Mother and St. John, or it might be the Four Evangelists. Galleries of this kind, as we learn from Dr. Gordon,[1] were common to all such buildings, and their style seldom varied. Besides bearing sculptured figures, they were sometimes occupied by musicians during divine service. They were commonly supported by cross beams, richly carved, with a screen of beautiful open tabernacle work running below. All the windows of the Church were fitted with variously-shaped panes of coloured glass fastened with lead, as we know from specimens that still exist. The roof, an appropriate lid for the casket of "the gem," consisted of groined and rubled vaulting in three divisions with a roof of timber, slated.

Such in brief was the Collegiate Church of Lincluden. Its inmates were secular priests; that is to say, men who were in holy orders, but not monks. They consisted at first of twelve canons, with a ruler over them, who bore the title of prepositus or provost; and on this account the foundation itself is often termed a Provostry. "The first Provost is said to have been one Elese:" so we read in Chalmers's *Caledonia*.[2] We are enabled to verify this conjectural statement by a quotation from an English State document, the Patent Roll of Henry IV., in which the King, on the 13th of June 1404, soon after the new community had got into fair working order, "grants a safe conduct to Sir John Heryse, Knight; Sir William Borthwick, Knight; and Elias, Provost of Lynclowe-

[1] *Monasticon*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Vol. i. p. 308.

DOOR OF SACRISTY—LINCLUDEN

dane in Scotland, to come to England with twenty attendants, horse or foot, for six weeks.[1] In these days such protections could not safely be dispensed with, even when there was a truce between the two countries, and at this period they were at war. If, therefore, Provost Elias and his companions had dared to cross the Border without receiving a passport from King Henry, they might have been put to grievous trouble by the English warden; and if he had permitted them to proceed unscathed, they were liable to be pounced upon as fair game by hostile bands farther south, ever on the alert "to catch a prey." Not till some years afterwards do we read of a successor to Elias being appointed in the person of Alexander de Carnys or Cairns: so it may be assumed that Elias got home unharmed. During the rule of Cairns the community was considerably enlarged so as to consist of eight prebendaries, twenty-four bedesmen, and a chaplain.[2] To what extent the property of the Abbey was made over to the College is not known, but that the latter was liberally endowed by Douglas there can be little doubt. He did not precisely "thirl the church to theik the queer," yet he is entitled to the credit, small though it is, of having bestowed on his own kith and kin much of what he took with violent hand from the defenceless sisterhood, when he might have devoted it to a worse purpose. The clerical dignitaries of the diocese would only half regret the change which deprived it of a humble monastic establishment and beautified it with an imposing Collegiate Church, though the loss would scarcely be balanced by the gain.

Archibald the Grim had one son, who succeeded him, and a daughter, Marjory, who, by a stroke of characteristic audacity on his part, acquired as her husband the Duke of Rothesay, heir-apparent to the Crown. The Prince was betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of March, but Douglas, stepping in with the

[1] 1-11 Henry IV.; MS. 20.

[2] Hutton's *Collections. Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 308.

offer of a larger dowry, obtained by purchase a royal Duke for his son-in-law. The match, however, did not turn out favourably, the unfortunate Rothesay having been all his married life dominated over by his infamous uncle, the Duke of Albany, and at length been literally starved to death at Albany's instance in one of the dungeons of Falkland Palace.

About two years after the marriage, Archibald the Grim himself died at a patriarchal age in Thrieve Castle, on the 3d of February 1400-1.[1] It has been said—on what authority we know not—that he was buried in the sacristy of Lincluden. No trace of his tomb has ever been discovered, nor yet of the monument which he is known to have erected in the College to the memory of his father, the Good Sir James.[2]

Under the rule of the grim Lord's son, Lincluden College acquired higher and purer memories than those which its earliest years have left behind. Archibald, the second Galloway Earl of the Douglas name, bore the uncomplimentary surname of Tyneman, which he partly deserved; but, though he tined or lost several battles, and at one of them—Homildon—lost an eye also, he was not always defeated, and for personal prowess he had few, if any, to match him in Christendom. The minstrel of the family, when singing in praise of his Lord, might have applied to him what Ossian said of one of his chiefs, "Terrible is the spear of Torlath; it is a meteor of night. He lifts it and the people fall! Death sits in the lightning of his sword." The second Earl was fortunate too in winning, and that by fair courtship, the hand of Margaret, daughter of Robert III., thus uniting by a second matrimonial bond the houses of Bruce-Stewart and Douglas.

The mother of the Countess was Annabelle Drummond, daughter of the Laird of Stobhall; the King preferring to marry one of his own subjects—for love shall we say?—rather than a

[1] Bower, vol. xv. p. 11.

[2] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 289.

foreign princess at the dictate of policy. Directly descended from Robert Bruce, the Countess seems to have inherited a portion of his mental strength; and the grace and sweetness which she manifested all her days were probably due to her mother Annabelle. Lady Douglas was sufficiently masculine for the wife of the heroic Earl, so that in her case it could not be said that "the hind was mated with the lion;" and he would prize her all the more because her hand, unlike his, was soft and delicate, and her heart gentle and womanly.

Often away at the wars, he could leave her with confidence to look after business affairs at home. Under their joint administration Galloway forgot the rigours of the preceding rule, and made good progress morally and socially; and that, too, though hostile bands from the South paid it many unwelcome visits. Not content with leading retaliatory hosts across the Border, Douglas joined with Hotspur, his opponent at Homildon, when that renowned chief rose in arms against his sovereign Henry IV. In the well-known words which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of the King when addressing his rebellious subject, there occurs a truthful reference to the fighting prowess of Archibald Tyneman:

> "Renowned Douglas, whose high deeds,
> Whose hot incursions, and great name in arms,
> Holds from all soldiers chief majority,
> And military title capital,
> Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ."[1]

At the battle of Shrewsbury, fought in 1403, the rebels were defeated, though their Scottish ally repeatedly turned the fortunes of the field in their favour; Harry Percy, his spur hot no more, fell fatally wounded: and his brother-in-arms was made prisoner by the Prince of Wales. When, according to our matchless

[1] *King Henry IV.* Part I.

dramatist, the King was urged to take the life of Douglas, he, refusing to comply with this ferocious counsel, bade

> "Brother, John of Lancaster,
> Go to the Douglas, and deliver him
> Up to his pleasure ransomless and free;
> His valour shown upon our crests to-day
> Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds
> Even in the bosom of our adversaries."[1]

Henry's treatment of Earl Douglas was not quite so generous as these words imply, as the prisoner had to pay a heavy ransom before acquiring his freedom.

While the captivity continued, a friendship sprang up between the two, which was manifested on the King's part by, among other things, the extension of his protection to the clerical clients of Douglas at Lincluden. The kind-hearted Earl was not so absorbed by his own troubles as to make him forget that in his absence the brethren were peculiarly exposed to danger from the marauding bands previously referred to; and at his instance Henry graciously issued a royal decree of which the following is a copy:—

"Rex universis et singulis Capitaneis Castellanis Custodibus Castrorum et aliorum fortaliciarum et eorum locum tenentibus in Marchiis regni nostri Anglie versus partes Scocie ac aliis fidelibus et subditis suis tam infra libertates quam extra ad quos presentes litterae pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod intuitu caritatis et ad specialem requisitionem dilecte consanguinei nostri Archebaldi Comitis de Douglas suscepimus et suscipimus per presentes in proteccionem tuicionem et defensionem nostras speciales Magistrum Alexandrum de Carnys prepositum ecclesie Collegiate de Lyncludane in Scocia ubicunque ipsum prepositum infra regnum Scocie personaliter fore contegerit, ac dictum locum de Lyncludane

[1] *King Henry IV.* Part I.

et Capellanes pauperes ibidem Deo servientes necnon terras predicte prepositi dicte ecclesie circumiacentes una cum grangiis bladis catallis et aliis bonis et rebus suis quibuscunque tam ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus. Et ideo vobis et cuilibet vestrum mandamus quod eidem preposito ubicunque ipsum infra dictum regnum Scocie personaliter fore contigerit, aut dicte loco suo de Lyncludane seu Cappellanis et pauperibus ibidem Deo servientibus in personis terris grangiis bladis bonis catallis aut rebus quibuscumque supra dictis non inferatis vel inferri permetatis iniuriam molestiam dampnum violenciam impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen. Et si quid eis in aliquo premissorum forisfactum fuerit vel injuriatum id eis sine dilacione debite corrigi et reformari faciat (?) Proviso semper quod idem prepositus aut Capellani et pauperes predicte Deo servientes sive tenente, sui infra dictum locum de Lyncludane aut dictas terras predicti prepositi commorantes et residentes quicquamquod in nostri regni seu populi nostri Anglie dampnum preiudicium vel inquietacionem cedere valeat, non faciant attemptent seu prosequantur quovis modo. In cuius &c per triennium duratura Teste Rege apud Castrum de Pount freyt xx die April [1408] Per ipsum Regem."[1]

Literally translated the document runs thus:—

"The King to all and each of the Captains, Castellans, Commandants of Castles and other fortified places, and their occupants on the Borders of our kingdom of England towards the parts of Scotland, and to his other faithful adherents and subjects both within his dominions and beyond, whom the present letters may reach, greeting. Know ye, that by the prompting of affection and at the special request of our beloved cousin, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, we have taken and do take by the present, under our special protection, guard, and defence, Master Alexander de

[1] *Patent Roll of Henry IV.*

Carnys, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lyncluden in Scotland, wheresoever the Provost himself may chance to be personally within the kingdom of Scotland, and the said place of Lyncluden, and the poor canons serving God in the same place, as well as the circumjacent lands of the aforesaid Provost of the said Church, together with the barns, crops, cattle, and all his other goods and property whatsoever, both ecclesiastical and temporal. And we also forbid you, and every one of you, to inflict or to suffer to be inflicted any injury, molestation, loss, violence, hindrance, or hardship upon the same Provost wheresoever he may chance to be personally within the said kingdom of Scotland, or upon his said place of Lyncluden, or upon the canons and poor [brethren] serving God in the same place, in their persons, lands, barns, crops, goods, cattle, or any other property whatsoever mentioned above. And if anything in any of their premises has been stolen or injured, it must be rectified and repaired for them without delay. Provided always that the same Provost, or aforesaid canons and poor [brethren] serving God or dwelling within the said place of Lyncluden, or sojourning and residing on the said lands of the aforesaid Provost, neither attempt nor effect in any manner anything which may turn out to the loss, prejudice, or disquiet of our kingdom or people of England. To remain in force for three years.

"Witness the King at the Castle of Pontefract, 20th day of April [1408]. BY THE KING HIMSELF."

Back again to Galloway. Would the liberated chief, while on his way to Thrieve Castle, call in at Lincluden to learn how the community had fared during his absence? Most likely; and, if he did, Provost de Carnys would as a matter of course move a special vote of thanks to their noble patron for the considerate services he had rendered to them while himself lying "in captive thrall";

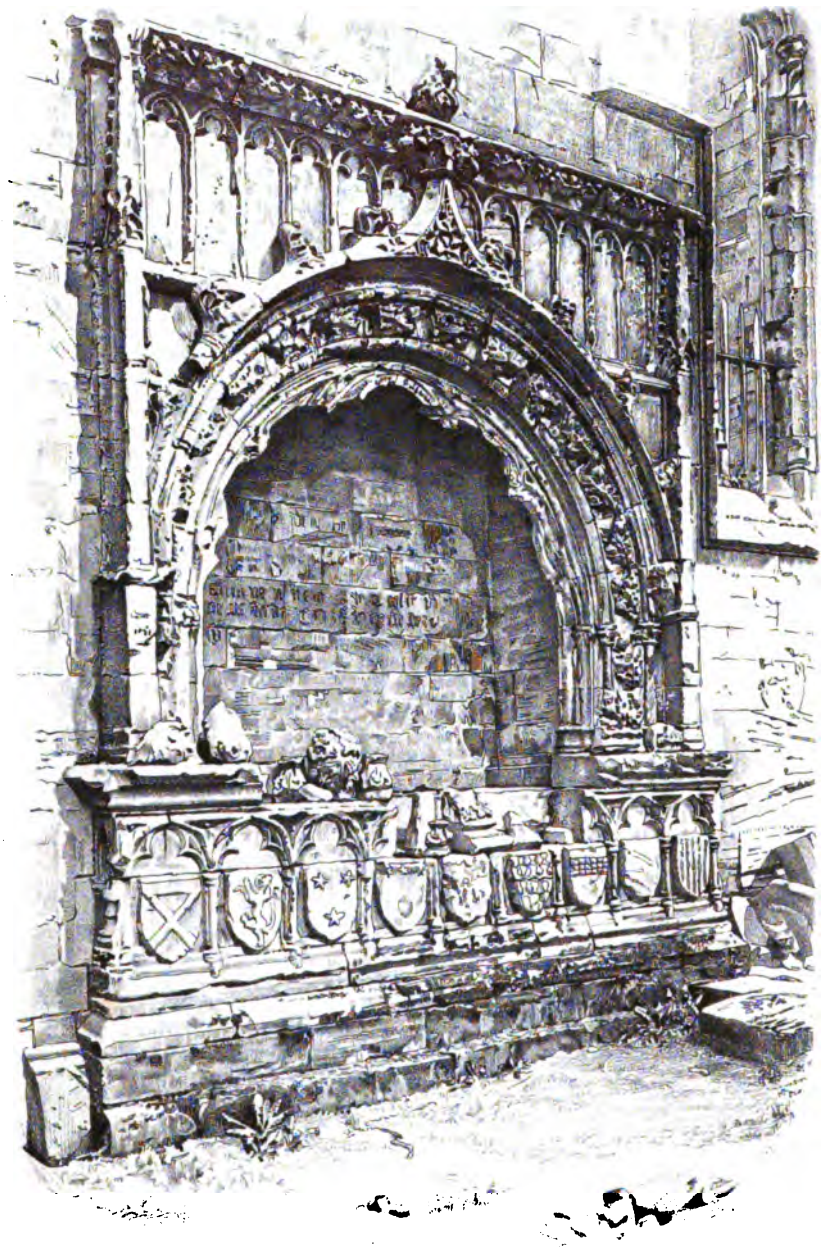
which motion, if at all proposed, would be passed with cheers that would wake the woodland echoes, if not make the welkin ring. At home once more—"Rest, warrior, rest!" And to the good Lord Douglas, war-worn and weary, the welcome which he received from his devoted wife and their youthful sons, and the repose which he found under the domestic roof, must have been exceedingly grateful. He would find the boys grown apace; one of them, Archibald, the very image of himself, the other, James, timid, docile, easy-minded, like his royal grandfather; that is to say, if in each case "the child was father of the man." Both of them lived to be Lords of the province, and in ruling it they presented a marked contrast to each other. Not a few uneventful but happy years were spent by the Earl in attending to his duties as a ruler, and enjoying the endearments of wedded life.[1] But neither onerous public claims nor the ties of family affection could induce this inveterate son of Mars to let his banner hang any longer idly on the wall when the news reached him from France, as it did in 1423, that Charles VII., its King, was sore pressed by the English claimants of his crown, and would be glad to receive help from his old Scottish allies.

According to Hollinshed, Douglas crossed the Channel with no fewer than 10,000 men, and freely placed their services at the disposal of Charles. In the campaign that ensued they acquired much distinction, bearing the chief brunt at several battles; and the grateful King rewarded their leader by creating him a Marshal of France and Duke of Touraine, attaching to the peerage the rich province of that name, which, with the title, long remained in the

[1] After his return home, and some time prior to 1423, the Earl, as Lord of Annandale, granted a charter to Gilbert Greresoun, his shield-bearer, of the lands of Mekil Daltoun and Dormant, and another to the same vassal and his son William of the same subjects, which Thomas Corbet had formerly held, but had forfeited.—Paper in Appendix 8, *Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 709, communicated by Dr. William Fraser.

family of Douglas. Only for a brief period, however, did the brave Galloway Duke of Touraine live to enjoy these new honours, as, on the 17th of August 1424, he "tined" all his dignities, old and new, and dear life itself, at the disastrous battle of Verneuil.

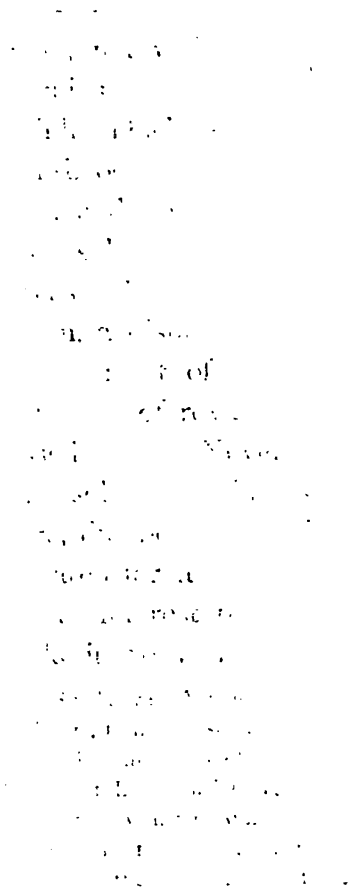
As an evidence of the love which Douglas bore to his wife, and the reliance he placed upon her judgment, he, before bidding her what proved to be a last adieu, settled the superiority of Galloway upon her as a life estate; which grant received confirmation from her brother, King James I. Her rule, as directed from Thrieve, was characterised by benignity and wisdom. Though the castle, like the first Lord who occupied it, still wore a swart and frowning aspect, its natural surroundings were attractive; and, quite in keeping with them, the widowed Duchess of Touraine demeaned herself so graciously as to rob the rugged pile of half its gloom. All the accounts that have come down to us respecting her concur in stating that she combined to a remarkable degree sweetness of disposition with strength of purpose. Hence the castle during her sway got rid of its repellent associations, and became recognised wide and far as a palace of the virtues instead of, as formerly, a den of violence and oppression. When the traveller of the present day surveys Thrieve in its ruined condition, he will be apt to recall the fiery passions and the turbulent schemes that were fostered under its roof by the Black Douglas and some of his successors: thoughts of these being naturally suggested by the huge square tower, still wearing its accustomed frown; the gaunt half-desolated barbican, still uncompromisingly defiant; and the gallows knob—which, as boasted by one of them, had never for fifty years preceding 1452 been without its human tassel—still protruding hideously from above the principal gateway. Some sweet memories—those left by the Lady Margaret—also cling to the castle, like the garniture of ivy that may be seen



FROM PHOTO BY JOHN COWAN 1883

M'LAGAN & CUMMING LITH EDINT

PRINCESS MARGARETS TOMB LINCLUDEN.



trying, not without success, to tone down the sinister aspect of the ruins.

The Duchess survived her husband about sixteen years, her demise occurring some time in 1440. In proportion as she was loved and honoured in life so was she lamented in death. With much solemn pomp and pageantry, as befitted the rank of the deceased lady, her remains were conveyed from Thrieve to Lincluden, a distance of fifteen miles—the procession, which would include most of the Galloway magnates and also some representatives of royalty, being swelled by district contributions as it passed along. Never before had such a grand pageant—at once so large, solemn, and imposing—entered the College grounds. Arrived there, the body was laid in the magnificent tomb that had been prepared for it; the Church thus acquiring a new and powerful human interest that will be coeval with its own existence, and, unlike it, grow in strength with the advance of time.[1]

[1] Sir Andrew Agnew, in his valuable work, *A History of the Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, furnishes some very interesting information respecting the relationship which one of his ancestors of the same name bore towards the Princess Margaret. The Agnews of Lochnaw having been dispossessed by Archibald the Grim, and their lands been given by him to William Douglas of Leswalt, they emigrated beyond his influence to the West of Ireland; but not liking their new place of abode, they, father and son, repaired to the court of Robert III. at Perth, the former becoming a member of the royal household, and the latter having the good fortune to attract the favourable regard of the King's daughter, Margaret, about the time she was married to Archibald Tyneman. "Though not inclined to love the name of Douglas, young Agnew was sincerely attached to this lady, and had soon cause to be grateful for her good offices." When, as Duchess of Touraine, she acquired supreme rule at Thrieve, her young protegé, Andrew Agnew, who had feared both her father-in-law and husband, accepted service in her household, and that all the more gladly because there was in it also "a fair scion of the house of Dunure, a daughter of the Duchess's sister, the Princess Mary," for whom he cherished a strong affection. His suit was promoted by the Duchess; the youthful couple were wedded in due course; and their kind patroness gave back to the happy bridegroom his patrimonial estate, having first provided Douglas of Leswalt with an equivalent elsewhere. "When the good Duchess of Touraine died, respected and beloved through all the province," among the long string of mourners who attended the lady to her grave "none more sincerely lamented her decease than her former esquire, Agnew of Lochnaw" (pp. 52, 53, 56, 57-65).

The tomb is nine feet square. It consists of a boldly crocketed, deeply recessed arch, springing from an elaborate richly sculptured base, and forming a canopy for the sarcophagus in which the body was laid; the whole surmounted by a horizontal cornice moulding, terminating with a finial florid with foliage. Between the cornice and plinth of the base are nine panels, having cusped pointed tops, forming together a beautiful little arcade; the panels enclosing a shield each, two of them being blank, and the rest enriched with the blazonry of the house of Douglas and their relatives. The lordship of Annandale is represented by its saltire and chief; a lion rampant, the cognisance of the M'Dowalls, typifies Galloway; three stars show the Moray arms, which the founder of Lincluden Church acquired by marriage; three stars of the first, with a man's heart below, indicate the escutcheon of the Douglases when rising nearer the political zenith, and recall one of the saddest, proudest passages of their history—that in which the Good Lord James, when bearing the heart of Bruce to Palestine, was the hero. Attacked on his way by the Moors of Spain he threw the casketed relic amongst them with the words "Forward, gallant heart, as thou wert wont; Douglas will follow thee or die!" and he fell covered with wounds; and when his body was found by the companions from whom he had been separated, the casket lay clasped near his own heart as if he were guarding it even in death. One of the shields displays a fess checqué surmounted by a bend engrailed, another the same emblem without the bend, these telling in heraldic language of the Royal Stewarts' connection with the Douglases, the checquered fess illustrating the old tally method by which stewards kept their accounts.

Was this tomb constructed after the death of the Countess, or did it form a part of the Choir from the first? Nearly all the evidence on the subject tends to show that it was comprised in the

original design, and that for a lengthened period it remained unoccupied. Mr. Bloxham has expressed his conviction that this must have been the case; as a result of careful inspection Mr. Barbour entertains the same opinion. "The tomb, in style and design," he says, "resembles the sedilia and piscina in the opposite wall. I cannot detect jointing in the masonry of a character to indicate after-insertion; and I think the arrangement of the work generally points in an opposite direction. The projection of masonry behind the tomb already referred to is a necessary part of the design of the Church itself, and also of the tomb, and therefore it would seem to be required that the work of both should have been carried up together. But for the tomb the opposite windows in the north and south walls would probably have corresponded in position and dimensions; and if the tomb had been afterwards inserted the upper part of the adjoining window would have remained uniform with that of the opposite one. This window, however, is altogether smaller." Mr. Barbour fortifies his opinion by showing that the same tomb-feature was a not uncommon occurrence in the ecclesiastical buildings of the period. The inscription on the tomb points to a similar conclusion. In it the Lady Margaret is called "regis Scotie filia" as if her royal father were still on the throne; and we know that, dying in 1406, he must have predeceased his daughter by more than thirty years. As her highest acquired title is not specified on the tomb, the fair inference is that the lettering was placed upon it before her husband was made a Peer of France; had the words been engraved after the honour was conferred they would certainly have included "Ducisse Turonensis." Finally, the inscription bears no date; it tells neither her age nor the time when she died—omissions which would scarcely have occurred if it had been posthumous.

After the body had been deposited in its narrow house of stone

a slab was placed over the sarcophagus, and on that in due time was laid a full-length sculptured figure of the Princess crowned and otherwise royally apparelled. As no prepared panel had been fixed in the back wall for an inscription, one was cut upon the ordinary dark red sandstone of which the College was constructed, and runs thus :—

A laide de dieu.

Hic jacet dna Margareta
Regis Scotie filia quoda
Comitissa de Douglas
Dna Gallobidie et ballis
Annandie.

"By the favour of God.

"Here lies the Lady Margaret, daughter of the King of Scotland, Countess of Douglas and Lady of Galloway and Annandale."

This monument, when entire, must have been exceedingly imposing, and considering the character of the Countess for goodness and piety, the beautiful image of her would be apt to evoke something like idolatrous homage. In modern times it experienced quite a different fate, having suffered terribly, along with the entire building in which it was enshrined.

CHAPTER V.

THE COLLEGE.

The Princess Margaret founds a chapel in Lincluden—Charter and endowment of the chapel—Enlargement of the College and of its community—Duties and emoluments of its Provosts and prebendars—Notice of its poor bedesmen—List of its Provosts—Business connection of Herries of Terraughty with the College—Copy of its oldest land charter—Ecclesiastical rental of the Provostry and the other benefices in the Bishopric of Galloway.

IMMEDIATELY after her bereavement the Duchess of Touraine founded a chapel in Lincluden Church, endowing it with farms which she had bought "*cum argente et auro*" with her own silver and gold. The charter, dated at Thrieve Castle, sets forth that the gift was made in her widowhood, for the benefit of the souls of her father King Robert III., of her mother Annabelle, his Queen, and their predecessors; for the happy condition of her brother, King James; in pious remembrance of Lord Archibald Earl of Douglas, and of his son, her late spouse, Archibald Duke of Touraine; and for the good of their son, Lord James de Douglas. The lands are specified as lying in the Lordship of Galloway, and consisting of Estwood, Bank of Carvorland, Drummukhede, Mains of Suthake and Mains of Borness. An abbreviated copy of the document as confirmed by King James I. is here subjoined.

"Apud Edynburgh, 29th September 1429. Rex confirmavit

cartam sororis suæ Margrete Ducisse Turonensis, Comitesse de Douglase, Domine Galwidie et vallis Anandie, quæ, in pura et simplice viduitate sua, et pro salute animarum inclitæ memoriæ Roberti Regis et Annabellæ Reginæ Scotiæ progenitorum suorum et pro felici statu animæ Jacobi Regis, &c., de ejus speciali licentia, &c., et pro salute animarum recolendæ memoriæ olim D. Arch. Com. de Douglas filii ejus et sponsi dicte Marg. et de Jac. de Duglase filii eorum et pro salute animæ suæ, &c. Concessit Deo, &c., ac uni capellano per se electo, et presentato in Ecclesia Collegiata de Lyncludene et successoribus ejus terras suas de le Estwood, Barschryve, de la Bank de Carvorland [Carlaverock] de Drummukhede, de le Maynys de Suthake et de Borness, [omnes] in constabularia Kyrudbrycht domino Galwidie; quas terras dicta Marg. emerat cum argento et auro suo. Tenend in puram elemosinam."

The list of witnesses to the charter is headed by Alexander, Bishop of Candida Casa; the others, including several men of mark, being William Douglas of Leswalt, an illegitimate son of Archibald the Grim; John M'Gilhauck, Provost of Lincluden; Patrick, heir of an old family, the M'Lellans of Galston; Alexander Mure, Steward of Kirkcudbright; and Magister M'Guffok, Secretary to the Duchess.

This addition to Lincluden is usually called the Lady Margaret's Chapel. When opened, the inmates of the College would necessarily be increased. From that period (1429) we may safely date the beginning of the change already referred to, which terminated in the enlargement of the community from thirteen officials to thirty-four. The additional house and store accommodation thus needed was supplied from time to time, till eventually the Collegiate buildings covered nearly twice as much ground as was occupied by the church proper and the remains of Uchtred's Abbey which it incorporated; a special residence for the Provost would doubtless be provided by Archibald the Grim; but what is now known as

the Provost's Lodging—the tall structure that rises on the extreme north—is of much less ancient date than the Church itself. South-west of its site a little stood what was a very striking feature of the building—a heptagonal tower, which, it is sometimes said, may have been used for defensive purposes, but if so, it could never have resisted anything more formidable than a bow-and-arrow assault.[1] It bore the royal arms and also the crest and initials of Provost William Stewart on its front. This tower fell suddenly in 1851. It constituted, we think, a portion of the enlargement begun soon after 1429, and which, extending northward from the sacristy, embraced the buildings that stretched between it and the residence of the chief ruler, if it did not also include that domicile within its range; all with the exception of two vaulted chambers adjoining the sacristy, the hewing and rag work of which seem to prove that they were coeval with the Church.

The Provost and the prebendars formed an incorporated body governed by fixed rules, like similar fraternities elsewhere. Though the Provost was the acknowledged head of the establishment he possessed no autocratic power, and all important matters had to be sanctioned by the brethren in chapter assembled, before action could be taken regarding them. So far as religious services were concerned Lincluden was still monastic, but those who performed them were not shut out by vow from the outer world; even the poor bedesmen of the community, though all celibates, being allowed to go occasionally beyond the gates of the College, and even to make an honest penny by sublunary pursuits. As already explained, the devotional exercises engaged in with mechanical regularity from day to day bore special reference to the founder and his family connections living and dead. A considerable amount of secular business devolved on the collegiates,—this

[1] The tower is frequently spoken of as having been octagonal, but the pictures given of it by Grose and others seem to show that it was seven-sided.

arising out of the extensive estates with which their house was endowed, and which were usually let, in feu-farm, by charter. The duties laid upon the Provost were not of an exactive nature. His office was one of dignity, with good pay, rather than of hard work. Though he occupied a lower position than a secular baron or mitred abbot, he held high social rank, and exercised considerable social influence in the district. At various times the office was held by men of high intellectual mark, to whom it sometimes became a stepping-stone to much loftier appointments in Church and State.

On the prebendars much of the routine services of the establishment was thrown, yet they were gentlemen-priests fairly well paid by a yearly stipend of forty-five marks each.[1] The chaplain, as may be conceived, possessed no sinecure, neither did the plebeians of the community, the bedesmen; though their share in the bounties of the foundation was equivalent only to the proverbial crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. All that these poor brethren, twenty-four in number, received as their allowance was eight bolls of oatmeal annually each, with clothing and fuel[2]—the exclusiveness of the diet suggesting the lines which Sir Walter Scott was fond of quoting:

"Crowdie ainee and crowdie twice,
And crowdie three times in a day;
Gin ye crowdie ony mair
Ye'll crowdie a' my meal away."

As for the chaplaincy, it seems to have been liberally endowed. In the accounts of William, Abbot of Dundrennan, who was Chamberlain of Galloway from Whitsunday 1455 till September 1456, credit is taken for payment to the Lincluden chaplain of £10 yearly from the lands of Southwick.[3] Subsequent accounts

[1] Hutton's *MSS.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 198.

rendered by the same officer, and by Adam Mure, his successor, dating from 17th September 1456 till 18th July 1462, state what has already been made known, that for the grant of these lands the College was indebted to the bountiful Duchess of Touraine.[1]

Elias has been already mentioned as first Superior of the College, also Alexander de Carnys as his immediate successor. In a charter received by the latter from the first Duke of Touraine, dated the 12th of February 1413, he is termed Cancellarius noster, "our own chancellor." He seems to have been an able sagacious man, with a diplomatic cast of mind. In 1410 he acted as a commissioner for negotiating "a day" of Border "trews" with the English. Two years afterwards he, with John Stewart of Lorn and Master John Trotter, was appointed to proceed to France on State affairs, but after long waiting vainly for a fair wind the embassy was recalled.[2] Provost Carnys died in office and was buried in Lady Margaret's Chapel. John Cameron, the third Provost, was a man of great intellect, and one of the most accomplished and ambitious ecclesiastics of his day. He had previously acted as secretary and confessor to the Duke of Touraine. Cameron and several other delegates attended the celebrated Council of Bazil as representatives of the Scottish Church. Rising rapidly in Court favour, he was soon afterwards constituted Keeper of the Great Seal and Auditor of the Exchequer.[3] We next find this aspiring churchman occupying

[1] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. v. pp. 198, 344, 568, 692; vol. vi. p. 115.

[2] Et per solucionem factam domino Johanni Senescalli de Loorn, magistro Alexandro de Carnys preposito de Linclouden et magistro Johanni Trotter, ambassiatoribus ordinatis ad Franciam, qui tamen diu expectantes ventum, in naulo navium ac pluribus expensis magnos fecerunt sumptus licet postmodum fuerunt ex magna causa revocati et non processerunt (Pro ipsorum tamen sumptibus et expensis de receptis nichil reddiderunt), £200.—*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. p. 164.

[3] We find from the Exchequer Rolls (vol. iv. p. 379) that Cameron was still Provost of Lincluden in May 1425, though then acting as Secretary to the King and

the positions of Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the Kingdom. Long before his death he acquired the evil repute of being rapacious and tyrannical, especially towards his own tenants and vassals. According to Spottiswoode, his latter end was the reverse of peaceful. That historian states that when Bishop Cameron was lying asleep on Christmas Eve 1446 in his house of Lockwood, seven miles from Glasgow, "he seemed to hear a voice summoning him to appear before the tribunal of Christ and give an account of his doings: thereupon he awaked, and being greatly troubled did call his servants to bring light and sit by him." A second time the same voice was heard, to the great amazement of the attendants; and again a third time, "far louder and more fearfully," upon which the dying man gave a heavy groan and breathed his last; "his fate," it is added, "being a notable example of God's judgment against the crying sin of oppression."[1]

John M'Gilhauck, Rector of Parton and secretary to the Duchess of Touraine, was promoted by her to the provostship in succession to Cameron. Then followed John Halyburton, of whom little is known; but his arms, carved on the south wall of the College Church, still remain to show his connection with it and the heraldic

Auditor of Exchequer. On the 15th of April 1426, he is mentioned in the Rolls as Keeper of the Great Seal and Auditor.

The following payments are recorded to him as Secretary, &c.—

"Et domino nostro regi per recepcionem Johannis Cameronn, *secretarii* sui £187:18:9." (Account of the Custumars of Dundee, 25th July 1424 to 11th May 1425.) *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 383.

"Et per liberacionem factum Jacobo Lermonth, servienti regis, in diversis denariatis ad usum ejusdem, magistro Johanne Cameronn, *custode privati sigilli* domini regis testante receptum supra compotum, £11:12s." (Account of the Custumars of Edinburgh, 12th May 1425 to 19th April 1426.) *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 405. There are several other payments to him in the accounts 1425-26, in all of which he bears the designation Keeper of the Privy Seal. In one, however, the account (Whitsunday 1425 to 17th April 1426) rendered by the bailies of Rutherglen, he is called Keeper of the Great Seal, as well as in the two passages referred to above. He appears again in 1435 as Keeper of the Privy Seal. *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. p. 644.

[1] *Spottiswoode*, p. 114.

honours which he wore. John Winchester, who was elevated to the See of Moray in 1436, was the next holder of the Provostry. To him succeeded John Methven, a learned doctor of decretals. Made a Secretary of State during the minority of James II., he, with other plenipotentiaries, went to London during the war of 1438, and succeeded in negotiating a peace with England to last for nine years. On James Lindsay of Covington the rule of the College devolved in 1449. His provostship was rendered memorable, as we shall afterwards see, by the protection he afforded to Queen Margaret of Anjou when she sought for an asylum at Lincluden. In 1465 Lindsay was constituted Keeper of the Privy Seal, and as such he and other magnates crossed the Border that year to hold a conference, for the redress of grievances, with commissioners from the English Court.

In 1483 the office was acquired by David Livingstone, who, it is believed, belonged to the old family of that name.[1] In the summer of 1488 he was succeeded by Andrew Stewart, a cadet of the house of Garlies;[2] George Hepburn and William Stewart being the next in order. The last-named Provost was also a member of the Garlies family. From being Rector of Lochmaben he rose eventually to be Bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Treasurer of Scotland. His arms were still to be seen on the great staircase of the Provost's Lodging in 1789. The name of the next Superior appears in several legal documents still extant. In one of these he is styled "ane venerable man George Marichell, Provost of Lincludane," and as such he grants to John Greirsone

[1] "Compeared before the Lords of Council, 29th January 1488, Maister David Levingstone, Provest of Linclouden, as curator to James Lord Livingstone," on matters of business respecting the College.—*Acta Dominorum Concilii.*

[2] The Lords of Council on 21st June 1480 gave decree "that Robert of Douglas and Thomas Nicholeson sall pay to Maister Andrew Stewart, Provest of Linclouden and Dene of Murra, for thre chalders of malt and three chalders of mele for ilk boll xs."—*Ibid.*

of Lag, "honorabili viro" [an honourable man], and his heirs and assignees, a certain portion of land belonging to the College, the boundaries of which are duly set forth. The deed is attested by John Broune, Schir James Eltron, Herbert Barclay, and others; while John Welche and James Amuligone are specified as having been also "present at the seisin." In a second charter, written on the 16th of December 1546, Provost Marshall is represented as "a high and venerable man," granting "three acres of the lands of the Priest croft, and on the northern part of the same croft a house and orchard, with the pertinents, to ane honourable man, Richard M'Kee of Myntoun."[1] On the death of Provost Marshall the office held by him for about three years was conferred upon Robert Douglas, natural son of Sir James Douglas, seventh Lord Drumlanrig, regarding whose provostship we shall have much to say, as it extended over fully fifty years, and was very eventful.

Occasional references to Lincluden occur in the Decrees of the Lords of Council 1494, when Andrew Stewart was Provost, which show that George Herries of Terraughty was at that time curator of the College, and had therefore a good deal to do with its business management. On the 26th of June the Lords decree that Herries be distrained for "the soume of five hundreth fifty merks usual money of Scotland for the males, fermez, teynds, and dewities of the Provestri of Linclowdene defalkand [deducting] to

[1] These deeds are entered in the original Protocol Book of Herbert Anderson, notary public, Dumfries, as preserved in the Town Council records. The substance of the first charter is subjoined: "Georgius Marichell, Prepositus de Lincludane ad dilectus meus Johanni Maxwell de Lochruton, Johanni Anderson et Johanni Kirkhaucht et eorum cuilibet, &c., balliviis meis in hac parte, &c. Salutem que dedimus et concessimus hereditis honorabili viro Johanne Greirson de Lag, et heredibus suis et assignatis una petam terre marcarum terrarum de Lincluedane, occupat per Johanne Clerk jacen infra terarum ville de Troqueir, jacen terras quondam Georgii Heres, ex parte boreali ex pro una, et nostras terras ex parte altera, et petam terre sive tenementum jacen in terra villa de Troqueir ex parte occidentali via regie . . . et terras dicti quondam Georgii Heres ex parte australi. Apud Lincluedane, 1st July 1546."

the said George in the payment making the soume of sevin skore merks vjs. viijd., which the said George has sufficiently proved paid" to the Earl of Bothwell; and also deducting as much as the Laird of Tynwald, the Laird of Amisfeld, and John of Slowain, declared "that the said George Heriz has spendit and warit upon the reparacioun of the Kirk of Linclowdain and als defalkand to him thre merkis of the sex merkis land of the gressome; and als delaying the distrenzeing of 200 merks which stands under continuation to the 10 day of October for diversitie of the acquittances. And as for the remanent of the said hale soume to mak the said Erle be content and pait thereof but [without] delay."[1]

On the 29th of November the Lords Auditors decree that George Herries shall "pay to Patrick, Erle of Bothuile, the soume of 50 merkis usuale money of Scotland off the rest of a mare [larger] soume aucht to the said erle for a part of the froitis [fruits] and dewities of the Provestry of Linclowdain as wes grantit by the said George Heries in presens of the lordis. And ordinis that lettrez be written to distrenze the said George his landis and gudis therefore."[2]

The name of a bedesman of the College occurs in a decree of the Council, 11th July 1494, a sufficient proof that the enlargement of the community so as to comprise twenty-four bedesmen had taken place prior to that early date. "Thomas Dunmure," designated "as one of the bedmen of the masyndeu [hospital] of Linclowden," is directed by the Lords on the 10th of October next to furnish sufficient proof of his charge that David Maxwell, Gilbert Maxwell, and Edward Maxwell had "spuilyeit and put him out of the tak and mailing of the Staikfurd Mylne, and Mylne land thereof," and had taken possession of the same. The Lords also enjoin the complainant to be prepared to specify by witnesses

[1] *Acta Dominorum Concilii.* [2] *Acta Dominorum Auditorum.*

the actual quality and value of the property taken from him, inasmuch as William Maxwell had alleged that he occupied a part of the said mill and had paid his mails for it.[1] This last minute indicates clearly that the bedesmen of the College were allowed to engage in secular work. Being under no vow of seclusion, and taking active part in mundane affairs, their position presented a strong contrast to that of the sister celibates of the Abbey.

Lincluden, as already mentioned, belonged to the diocese of Whithorn, which became merged in the see of Glasgow and Galloway. Early in the sixteenth century it was presided over by Bishop David, who granted the oldest charter we have seen relating to the College. It is to the following effect:—Charter by David, Bishop of Whithorn, and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, with consent of the chapter of Lincluden, to Paul Cunynghame and Janet Pardowen, his spouse, in conjunct fee, and the heirs gotten or to be gotten between them, of the croft of William Raa, lying towards the back gate of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden, extending to two acres and houses built thereon; also two acres of the Pies croft contiguous to the said croft of William Raa; two acres of the Beir croft easterward therefrom, and between the croft of Stephen Bek on the south and the garden or orchyard of the canons on the north. To hold in fee and heritage with pasture of eight soumes[2] of animals on the common, and grazing thereto, for the yearly rent of twenty shillings. Sealed with the Bishop's round seal at the College of Lincluden, 2d January 1516-17.[3]

A few years afterwards the same prelate granted another charter, in which he is designated "Bishop of Whithorn, and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, Perpetual Commendator of Lincluden, of the diocese of Glasgow, united and annexed to the diocese of

[1] *Acta Dominorum Concilii.*

[2] A soum is as much ground as will pasture a cow or five sheep.

[3] *MS. Register Buik of Linclouden.*

Whithorn." It is in favour of Sir John Cunynghame, prebendar of the said Church, of five acres of land, with one rood on the Kilhil, for constructing a barn immediately contiguous and adjacent in the Barneschot and Holmend, within the barony of Drumslete, extending westward to the dyke of the Weltreis, and eastward to the Barneschot Hill, northward to the water of Cloudane, and southward to the King's highway reaching to the Cuntfuird; with pasture of four "soumes" of animals on the common of the said Collegiate Church. To hold in fee and heritage, for yearly payment of 13s. 4d., and for the said rood six pence. Sealed with the Bishop's round seal, and the common seal of the chapter, 16th January 1521-22. Witnesses, Mr. Henry Wemes, official of Whithorn; Mr. David Arnot, vicar of Lochruton; John Wemes, Alexander Perdovane, and John Perdovane. Subscribed by D., Bishop of Whithorn, etc. Thomas Byrkmyr, Sir Henry Merser, Sir David M'Gee, Sir John Walkar, Sir Mungo Cunyngham, prebendar; Andrew Makbrek, chancellor of Dumblane, canon of Lincluden; Thomas Erskin, prebendar; John Cunyngham, prebendar; and Roger Makquhirk. The Bishop also grants precept addressed to Edward Maxwell, John Maxwell, and David Cunyngham, bailies, for infefting Sir John Cunyngham in the lands already specified.[1]

In the eventful year 1561, when the Church benefices were assumed by the Crown, the rental of the Galloway Bishopric was returned as follows:—

ABBEY OF TONGLAND:—£1266:14s.; 8 chalders 7 bushels of bear or barley, 10 chalders and 7 bushels of meal, 8 bushels of malt, and 4 hogsheads of salmon.

PRIORY OF WHITHORN:—£1016:3:4; 15 chalders 4 bushels 3 pints of bear, 51 chalders 15 bushels 2 pints of meal.

Register Buik of Lincluden.

ABBEY OF SOULSEAT:—£343:13:4; 13 chalders 4 bushels 2 pints of meal, 7 chalders 8 bushels of bear, 13½ dozen of capons.

ABBEY OF GLENLUCE:—Set to the Earl of Cassillis for yearly payment of £666:13:4.

PRIORY OF ST. MARY'S ISLE:—£235:4:4; 9 bolls of meal, 80 bolls of oats, 77 bolls of bear.

ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN:—Set in assedation for payment of £500.

PROVOSTRY OF LINCLUDEN:—£423; victual, 15 chalders 2 bushels. The temporalities thereof consist of the baronies of Crossmichael and Drumsleet, the spirituality of five kirks, Carlaverock, Kirkbean, Terregles, and Lochrutton; founded persons, the Provost, 8 prebends, and 24 bedesmen.

From an English source we have an estimated valuation of these benefices, made about the same period. An invasion of Nithsdale and Galloway having been projected by Queen Elizabeth, a preliminary survey of the country was taken, at her instance, for the purpose of ascertaining its physical features, warlike defences, and economic resources. The officer's report, 1563-66, contains the subjoined calculation regarding "Profittes of Benefices in Galloway, whose revenues may releve garrisons."

FIRSTE. In the Ryndes of Galloway stondeth Salsyde Abbaye, wortht by yeare of Engles money j^{c} li [£100].

The Pryory of Whitheirne called Sanct Nynianes, of the same money wortht v^{c} markes [500].

The Abbacye of Glenluce, of the same money wortht v^{c} markes.

The Bishopryc of Gallowaye, wortht by yeare iiij^{c} markes [400].

The Abbacye of Townglande, wortht of that money iij^{c} markes [300].

The Pryory of Sanct Marye Yle, wortht by yeare j^{c} li [£100].

The Abbacye of Dumdranen, ii^{cl} li [£250].

The New Abbaye, ij^{cl} li [£250].

SOMME, iij^{ml} li marckes steringe [3050].

The Abbacie of Haliwood of Inglis money, worthe cc marckes [200].

The Provestrie of Linclowden, j^{c} li [£100].

SOMA, ij^{c}xxxiiij [£234].

Liddesdale and the Debateable Land, by Robert Bruce Armstrong, Appendix, pp. 108, 109.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COLLEGE.

Tyneman's descendants—William, his grandson, holds a Conference in the College to revise the laws of Border warfare—Rebellion and overthrow of the Douglases—Their principal property confiscated—The Patronage of the Provostry vested in the Crown—Increased connection of the Herries and Maxwell families with Lincluden—Queen Margaret of Anjou, with the Prince of Wales, obtains refuge under its roof—Visit to her of the widowed Queen of James II. with their young son James III.—James IV. visits Lincluden when performing pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Ninian.

ARCHIBALD, son of Tyneman, held the Lordship of Galloway in fee under his mother, the Countess, and on her death he succeeded to all her privileges in the province. He was a thorough Douglas, so far as ambition and pride are concerned, manifesting these qualities sometimes in a way that aroused the jealousy of his uncle, King James I. Dying of fever in 1439, he left to his son William, says Tytler, "an immense and dangerous inheritance of power and pride."[1] Under what tragical circumstances the Earldom again became vacant need not be stated in detail. Suffice it to say that William Douglas, setting at defiance Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton, who carried on the

[1] He was buried in St. Bride's Church, Douglas, his tombstone representing him as "Dominus Archibaldus Douglas, Dux Turoniæ, Comes de Douglas, et Longueville, Dominus Gallovidiæ, et Wigton, et Annandiæ, Locum tenens Regis Scotiæ."

government of Scotland during the minority of James II., was eventually induced by them to attend a banquet at Edinburgh along with his brother David, and that they were both seized at the social board and sent off to instant execution; the youthful King, who was present, vainly crying out, "Spare them, spare them."

When thus foully done to death Earl Douglas was barely seventeen years old. As he left no direct heir his sister Margaret succeeded to his unentailed estates in Galloway and Annandale, and his grand-uncle, James Earl of Avondale, son of the first Duke and Duchess of Touraine, became next Lord of Douglas. James was surnamed the Gross, because of his corpulency; and, resembling Falstaff in figure, he, like that famous knight, habitually preferred discretion to valour. Not so his son William, in whom were concentrated the bravery, the haughtiness, the boundless ambition of the Douglas race. Succeeding to the Earldom on the death of his father in 1443, William soon afterwards obtained a divorce from his wife Jean or Janet, in order that he might wed his cousin Margaret, and get with her as a marriage portion all the family estates that were unentailed.[1] He thus added greatly to his wealth. He became, in fact, about the richest as well as the haughtiest subject in all the realm; and the King's counsellors soon found to their cost that the dreadful crime by which they got rid of two Douglases had been of little avail to them since now they were confronted by one—still more powerful, reckless, disloyal, and defiant, and bent, too, on recompensing

[1] Though William Douglas, the eighth Earl, repudiated his wedded partner, Lady Jean, it has never been clearly shown that the bill of divorcement he obtained against her was a legal document. David Crawford, the learned antiquary and historian, states, as a result of his inquiries into the subject, that Douglas "found means to get rid of her some way or other, we may presume very unwarrantably," "and that upon this he got some kind of marriage patched up between himself and Lady Margaret Douglas, the only daughter of his cousin Archibald Earl of Douglas, whose ward and marriage he had got from the Crown by the charter thereof to him under the Great Seal in the year 1449."—Crawford's *MS. Notes* in Advocates' Library.

them for the "black dinner" hospitality which they had served out to his kinsmen.

With the political intrigues and warlike exploits of Earl William we meddle not, our subject requiring us to follow him into scenes of a different kind, laid in Lincluden Church. Among the offices held by him was that of Warden of the Western Border. Its laws needed revision as he thought. To effect that object he summoned "all the Lords, Freeholders, and oldest Borderers of Scotland" to meet him at the College on the 18th of December 1448. In these times it was usual for churchmen to hold high offices of State, and it was no uncommon thing for purely secular meetings to be held in ecclesiastical buildings. There was no anomaly, therefore, in this great gathering of the Border chiefs taking place at Lincluden. Looking to the amount of work done, we should suppose that the deliberations must have extended over several days. John Methven was Provost at the time, and the Conference, which formed an epoch in his rule, and would be to him a source of anxiety, seeing that on him devolved the care of so many guests, was productive of very important results. This is shown in the Harleian MSS., which embody "the ordinances of war sett doune at Lincludan College by the Commandment of Erle William of Douglasse."[1]

"Commandment,"—that is the word used, and it rightly expresses, we doubt not, the attitude taken up towards his fellow-counsellors by the imperious Lord whose word was law in more powerful circles than in this little parliament at Lincluden. Yet he could unbend when he liked, and be geniality itself to those who readily acknowledged his leadership. His claim to be chief luminary

[1] The Lansdowne MS., No. 263, which, like the Harleian Collection, is preserved in the British Museum, also contains Statutes of Scotland to be observed in time of war as "sett doune at Linclodane by all the lords freeholders . . . anno 1448 by the commandment of Erle Willm. Douglas." See Appendix.

on this occasion would be disputed by no one present, so that the proceedings would be throughout harmonious. From the above document we learn that old statutes were recast, that a number of new rules were adopted, and that the code thus completed prohibited intercommuning with the enemy; enjoined that all men were to keep by their own respective companies; that they were to answer to their names when the host was arrayed; that all were to fight on foot, except such as got special leave from their chief to ride on horseback; that it regulated the terms of ransom; and set forth the penalties incurred for desertion and other offences. "Whatever he be," runs clause eleventh, "that brings a traytor to the Warden or his deputy, he shall have his reward, a hundred shillings; and he that puts him away fraudfully shall underlie the pain of death like as the traitor should have done." The thirteenth clause, which is also worth quoting, is in the following terms:—"Whoever he be—an host of Englishmen arriving in the country, the bales being burned—that follows not the host, on horse or on foot, ever till the Englishmen be passed off Scotland, and that they have sufficient witnesses thereof, all their goods shall be escheat and their bodies at the Warden's will, unless they have lauful excuse for them." Thus we see that these Border forays, in which our forefathers indulged so much, were conducted upon system when the cry arose,

> "March, march, Ettrick and Teviotdale;
> Why, my lads, dinna ye march forward in order?
> March, march, Eskdale and Liddesdale,
> All the blue bonnets are over the Border."

The war "ordinances" having been so successfully disposed of, the presiding Earl brought forward the kindred question of the bale-fires. As a result, the Conference enacted that nine beacons should be erected in Nithsdale on the following heights: Ward-

law, Rachoctoun, Barloch, Pittarra, Malow, Dowlback, Watchfell, Corsell, and Corscincon; and other eleven in Annandale, on Gallowhill, Kindolknock, Bleis, Browanhill, Burrow-skenton, Quitsoun, Drysdail, Cowdens, Bailhill, Penchathill, and Trailtrow.[1] These beacons were placed under the charge of the Sheriff of Nithsdale and the Stewards of Annandale and Kirkcudbright, with strict injunctions that they should engage suitable persons to erect and maintain the pyres and set them ablaze in time of need. By these arrangements the system of signalling the approach of an invading force was brought to a perfection unknown before.[2] In its operation it must have saved many lives, and foreclosed or baulked many plundering expeditions. Before breaking up the meeting the Earl called for a copy of the Gospels, which having been produced, he caused all present to swear upon the holy record

[1] Introduction to Nicholson and Burns' *History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, p. 59.—It is difficult to identify some of these heights. For Rachoctoun we should probably read Tynron Doon; Brownmuirhill for Browanhill; Barr for Burrow; Whitcomb for Quitsoun; Pendiclehill for Penchathill. As Criffel is sometimes written Crossfell in old deeds we may assume that this is the Corsell named above; next to it on the list is the hill with which Burns associates it in the well-known lines,

> "The Nith shall rin to Corsincon,
> And Criffel sink in Solway,
> Ere we permit a foreign foe
> On British ground to rally."

[2] Some of the beacon hills on the banks of the Nith are described as follows in the report drawn up (1563-66) at the instance of Queen Elizabeth, already quoted from:—"The towne of Dumfreiss ys subjett to two lytill motes, one called the Beakin hill, which in thre dayes may be the men in the watter of Nytht; the other at theast gate [Crystal Mount], where upoun the lytill chapell standetht hard by the towne, but removiable by less lauboures nor tother, onless in case of fortification, yt might from that qwarter of the towne be made a monte or bulwork, and upoun the west syde of the watter of Nytht at the brig ende, the towne ys subjett to a hill [Corbelly Hill] whiche I think can doo lytll harme, being almoste a quarter of myle distant from the towne, the revare of Nyght betuix the same, as my measoures will declare; the towne of Dumfreis standeth vj myles within the mowtht of Nytht, the hede towne of the schyre. The Lorde Maxwell haitht a fare howse battaled within this towne, but not tentable nor strong agains any battry or gownes."—Armstrong's *Liddesdale and the Debateable Land*, Appendix, p. 110.

that they would within their respective districts observe and cause to be obeyed all the ordinances they had ratified, and assist him in giving them full effect. It would have been well for the eighth Earl of Douglas, and well for his country, if the patriotism and the wisdom which he displayed at the Lincluden Conference had guided him throughout his career.

Within the brief period of twelve years after that memorable gathering the family with whom Lincluden is so closely associated met with a series of fearful disasters which culminated in their downfall: Earl William stabbed to death in Stirling Castle by James II. because he refused to break the bond which united him to his rebel associates; his brother James, the ninth Earl, continuing the rebellious game with some faint glimmerings of success, only to be swallowed up in deeper gloom; his utter defeat by the royal forces at Arkinholm in 1455;[1] the passing of a Parliamentary enactment next year attainting the Douglases, and depriving them of all their titles and lands. At the date of that document Galloway ceased to be an independent regality, after having existed as such from an immemorial period; its Lordship, together with that of Eskdale, was annexed to the Crown, and Annandale, with its appendant Castle of Lochmaben, was granted by King James to his second son, Alexander, whom he created Earl of March, Lord of Annandale, and Duke of Albany. The King, who acted with such vigour in Galloway, was killed by the accidental bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. He was succeeded by his youthful son, James III., who, as we shall afterwards see, paid a visit to Lincluden College in company with his widowed mother under very interesting circum-

[1] On the 23d of January 1452, less than three years before this battle, James, the last Earl of Douglas, granted a charter to the Friars Minors of the tolls levied at Devorgilla's Bridge, Dumfries, confirmatory of the original grant given by the first Duchess of Touraine.

stances. Before reaching his seventeenth year a consort was selected for him by his courtiers, this being "the King's daughter of Noroway o'er the faem," who, on becoming Queen of Scots, received in 1473 from her royal husband as part of her dowry the entire Lordship of Galloway, with the Castle of Thrieve, and the revenues of the burghs of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown.[1]

Consequent on these revolutionary changes a royal Chamberlain, with an annual salary of £120 Scots, now bore modest sway in the province over which the M'Dowalls and after them the Douglases had for centuries ruled like sovereign princes. John Winchester, Provost of Lincluden in 1456, would, no doubt, lament the downfall of his patrons, yet that event must have been a gain to him in some respects. Their greatness made him relatively small; but now he could breathe more freely, and step out more boldly. He had a much larger income than the Chamberlain; he would be recognised locally as at least equal in position to that official; and, generally speaking, he and his successors had no reason to regret the change that transferred the patronage of the Provostry to the Crown.

The name of the great historical family of the Maxwells became ere long afterwards closely linked with that of Lincluden, or more strictly speaking, a connection formed between them so far back as 1180 was renewed in the middle of the fifteenth century. The daughter of Rolland, son of the founder of the Abbey, became the spouse of Eugene de Maccuswell, he acquiring with her lands in East Galloway; and when the representative of the grim Earl who expelled the Benedictine nuns from their own house was himself banished out of Galloway, Robert Lord Maxwell, the representative of Rolland's daughter and of her husband Eugene, acquired a share of the forfeited property of the Douglases. He was made Steward of Kirkcudbrightshire and Castellan of Thrieve.

[1] *Acts of Parliament*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189. *Regist. Magni Sigilli*, 11*th Oct.* 1473.

Nearly 200 years before the battle of Arkinholm Sir John Herries, as we have already seen, received the Barony of Terregles, on which Lincluden stands, from David II. His descendant, Sir Robert Herries, married Margaret, daughter of the founder of the College; and after the flight of another century the Barony passed by marriage to the Maxwells of Nithsdale, who still retain it. Thus, in a curious, double manner, the subject of our narrative became connected with the Maxwells, and it acquired fresh interest in many ways from the relationship, as we shall endeavour afterwards to show; yet the Douglas interest in the fortunes of the College never fairly died out till far into the seventeenth century. For about 200 years after the last Earl of Douglas was forfeited the house built by his ancestor supplied a home and sustenance for not a few men of their own kith and kin—most if not all its provosts, and many of its prebends, being related to the family. It was foretold of another Border house that whatever changes might arise there would still be "a Haig in Bemersyde," so in blood or name, or both, one Douglas after another ruled over Lincluden many long years after the power of their chief had passed away.

Memorable in the annals of Lincluden is the year 1460. Its Provost at that time was James Lindsay, whose utmost resources were taxed for the entertainment of more than one royal guest who claimed his hospitality during the summer of the year just specified. The chief of these was Margaret of Anjou, niece of the King from whom Archibald Tyneman received his French title,—a lady of heroic mould, whose name is kept ever bright by the nimbus-like radiance that has been cast over it by history, poetry, and romance. Possessed of rare personal beauty, she won the heart of England's sixth Henry when that somewhat commonplace monarch was prosecuting his wars against France, and as a result she, the daughter of a petty sovereign, became sharer with her royal husband of one of the proudest thrones in Christendom, and virtual

ruler of the English realm. But the elevation of the young Queen to such high rank and power was only the prelude to her of troubles and trials innumerable. The Yorkist party, who had always disputed the claim of Henry to the crown, entered the field against him, thus initiating the protracted Wars of the Roses. At the battle of Northampton, fought on the 10th of July 1460, the royal army was put to the rout and the King himself was taken prisoner. Queen Margaret and their son Edward, a child of eight years, would have shared the same fate had they not escaped by flight.

Whither could they go to be certain of safety? Little difficulty would the Queen have in answering this question. To Scotland, the faithful ally of France, whose royal house was related to her own—to the land of Douglas Duke of Touraine, her uncle's friend. So resolving, the fair fugitive, with her young son and a small retinue, crossed the Border and threw herself, in the first instance, on the hospitality of the burgesses of Dumfries, from whom she received a hearty welcome and, as Miss Strickland states, "universal sympathy."[1] In these days even bad news did not travel fast, and probably when the Queen of England entered Dumfries she was not aware that the Douglases had fallen from power; and it was certainly not till she stepped on Scottish ground that she heard how King James II. had been accidentally deprived of life, and that his consort, Mary of Gueldres, was now a widow.

Obeying her own womanly instincts probably, Queen Margaret did not at once proceed to the Court of her kinswoman, but went direct to Lincluden, with whose name she must have been familiar, and where she could be certain of meeting with friends. Accompanied, it may be, by some of the Dumfries magistrates, the

[1] These statements are given on the authority of Miss Strickland. See her *Lives of the Queens of England*, p. 584 (Bohn's Edition). According to Wyrcestre's *Annals*, p. 774, Queen Margaret entered Scotland from Wales.

royal lady, with her son and suite, appeared as a suppliant at the gates of the Collegiate Church. Her presence there under such pathetic circumstances secured for her all that she solicited, and more—a place of sanctuary—a home which, though not sumptuous like the palaces she had been used to, was yet secure and at least moderately comfortable.

These were the first of Provost Lindsay's regal visitors. Who should follow them soon but the Queen mother of Scotland and her son, not a bit older than the refugee Prince of Wales, though, as King James III., his "baby brow" already bore "the golden round of sovereignty." Occupied for a while with the obsequies of her departed husband and the coronation of his heir, no sooner were these ceremonies over than the Queen Dowager and the youthful King, responding to letters sent to her by "the royal heroine of the Red Rose,"[1] travelled in high state south to Lincluden. Our readers may imagine the kind of meeting that ensued when the two Queens were brought face to face: clasped in each other's arms, interchanging the kisses of sisterly love, mingling their tears together, and the rainbow smile of hope playing at times on the lips of each. The visit paid by the royal widow to the royal exile was much more than an affair of courtesy: she brought in her train a number of trusty councillors, and many conferences between the two ladies were held with their assistance and that of the English lords who accompanied their Queen. At these deliberations, which extended over twelve days, the best modes of repairing the fortunes of Margaret of Anjou were discussed. Meanwhile she received a promise of troops from her kind protectress, on condition that Berwick should be restored to the Scots; and it is even said that the fond dream was indulged in that if the Lancastrian cause prevailed the union of the two royal houses and of their respective kingdoms might be brought about by the marriage

[1] Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England.*

of Prince Edward with the Princess Mary, sister of King James.[1] For a fortnight at least old Lincluden would wear quite a courtly aspect; and it is a puzzle to us how the Provost, even when his own Lodging and all his other best rooms were turned to account, managed to provide anything like adequate accommodation for his numerous and distinguished guests.

Some furnishings and food supplies would probably be brought by the Scottish royal party; and it is known that a considerable quantity of wine was sent from Falkland Palace for the entertainment of the company. In the accounts of William, Abbot of Dundrennan, as Chamberlain of Galloway, from the 10th of July 1460 to the 6th of the following March, credit is taken for a payment of £13 : 10s. "for three pipes of white wine of Poitou, and of 32s. for the carriage of the same to the College of Lincloudan; also for three bolls of salt for use at the time when the Queen received the Queen and the Prince of England; also a payment of 12s. 2d. for the expense of two servants riding with letters from the College of Lincluden to Kirkcudbright and the Rynnys."[2]

There is a more curious entry still—a note on the account of the bailies of Dumfries as rendered at Edinburgh by one of their number, Herbert Gledstanys, 7th July 1460 to 7th March 1460-61—which states that the sum of 15s. is to be allowed to the accountant in his next account for a bed-cover and a pair of sheets lost at Lincluden when the Queen was there with the Queen of England; which allowance is accordingly made at the following audit on the 10th of July 1462.[3] We may reasonably infer from this minute

[1] *Asloan MS.*, pp. 21, 58.

[2] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vii. 8, 9.

[3] Miss Strickland gives the following additional extracts from the *Exchequer Rolls*, 29th August 1460:—"Payment made to Duncan Dundas for the expense of Margaret of England staying with our Lady the Queen, incurred by bringing her to the parts of Scotland, the Keeper of the Privy Seal attesting the order, the sum of xviiℓi. xiis.; and for the wages of two grooms of the Prince of England abiding in Falkland, for the

that more household articles than the missing ones it specifies had been lent or sold by the lieges of Dumfries to complete the extra plenishing of the College when Provost Lindsay was called upon to entertain two Queens, two royal Princes, and ever so many Lords, for such a lengthened period.[1]

Within less than a year from the date of this deeply interesting Lincluden episode Margaret made a bold attempt to redeem her fortunes at Towton. There, however, she sustained a crushing defeat, and, as a result, the head of the rival house was crowned king under the title of Edward IV. Not till two more valorous efforts had been put forth in vain by the unfortunate but heroic Queen did she give up the struggle, and then—widowed, childless, for-

keeping of the horses of the said Prince thirteen days, each of them receiving eight pennies a day, and mounting in the whole xvi*s.* viii*d.*"

[1] The further fortunes of Margaret of Anjou, and of her husband, are traced in the following interesting extract from preface to vol. vii., *Exchequer Rolls*:—

"On returning to England Margaret quickly assembled an army. The temporary triumph of her party at Wakefield, the slaughter of the Duke of York and his son Richard, and the reverses sustained by the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, the second battle at St. Albans and Towton, are familiar incidents in English history. After the defeat of Towton (March 29, 1461) Queen Margaret and her husband (Henry VI.) seem to have made their way to Berwick, where, as had been prearranged, they brought about the surrender of that Border town and its castle to the Scots. The Royal party, including among others the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, Lord Roos and his son, then made their way into Scotland. The *Paston Letters* mention as a current report that the King remained at Kirkcudbright with four men and a boy, while the Queen and Prince went on to Edinburgh; but such does not appear to have been the fact. Preparations were made at once for the reception of the English King and Queen at Linlithgow Palace, and marts and muttons were supplied to them by the Steward of the Queen's household. While Queen Margaret pledged a gold cup to the Scottish Queen Dowager, we find 100 crowns (£50) given, either as a loan or a present, to the English Queen. From Linlithgow the distinguished fugitives proceeded to Edinburgh, taking up their residence in the Convent of the Dominican Friars, a provision of four marts with hides, twenty-one carcases of marts and fifty sheep, for the expenses of the King of England, appearing of this date in the amounts of the custumars of Edinburgh. . . . The young Prince spent part of his time at Falkland with the Scottish Queen Dowager, the length of sojourn there being on one occasion specified as thirteen days; and the whole stay of the Royal party in Scotland seems to have exceeded a year."

lorn, yet not subdued—she sought refuge at her father's Court in Flanders. The Queen's son, who received an asylum with her at Lincluden, was no longer her companion, he having been treacherously murdered by the two brothers of King Edward, Clarence and Gloucester, in 1471. Of all the poor lady's losses and crosses she looked upon this as the worst that had fallen to her lot. What she felt, if not what she literally said on the subject of the Prince's death, is finely expressed by our greatest writer of historical romance when describing her accidental meeting with the fugitive Earl of Oxford in Strasburg Cathedral.[1] Replying to his remark that happy times might still be in store for her, she is represented as saying, "If to-morrow's sun could place me once more on the throne of England, could it give back to me what I have lost? I speak not of wealth or power—they are as nothing in the balance; I speak not of the hosts of noble friends who have fallen in defence of me and mine—Somersets, Percys, Staffords, Cliffords—they have found their place in fame, in the annals of their country; I speak not of my husband, he has exchanged the state of a suffering saint upon earth for that of a glorified saint in heaven. But, O Oxford! my son—my Edward. . . . Thy Arthur lives; but alas! my Edward, born under the same auspices, fills a bloody grave!"

James III., who, as a boy, spent a few bright days at Lincluden in company with Queen Margaret's son, also experienced a violent death, from an unknown hand, after a rebel force had defeated his army at Sauchieburn. He was succeeded by his son, James IV., the noblest monarch of all the Stewart race. Handsome, accomplished, patriotic, and chivalrous, he marred the beauty of his character by an occasional divergence into questionable pursuits; and when these indulgences bore heavily on his mind he sought relief in fasts and other mortifications prescribed by the Church.

[1] *Anne of Geierstein*, chap. xxiv.

The sensitive conscience of the King charged him with having been an accessory to his father's murder, though he was but the nominal leader of the mutinous barons at Sauchieburn. To expiate this imaginary crime James ever afterwards wore an iron girdle round his waist, to the weight of which some ounces were added every year. All readers of *Marmion* are familiar with the picture given of him—at home alike in festive hall or on battle-field, yet subject even in his merriest hours to sudden fits of depression—

> "If in a sudden turn he felt
> The pressure of his iron belt
> That bound his breast in penance-pain,
> In memory of his father slain."

During almost every year of his reign James appeared before the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn to bewail his transgressions, real or imaginary. On a special occasion he went thither barefooted, as Drummond of Hawthornden tells us, in order to pray for the recovery of his Queen from a childbed sickness that brought her "near the last agony of death." As was his wont, the royal pilgrim took rest at the various religious houses that lay along the line of his travel, the College Church in Terregles among the number, as the subjoined entries, copied from the Lord Treasurer's accounts, serve to show:—"3 Aug. 1505. Item, that samyn day in Linclowden, to the piparis to pairt among them xlij*s.* (forty-two shillings). Item, to the masonis of Linclowden, of drinksilver xiiij*s.* (fourteen shillings)." On that day we may be sure the King would pay his devotions at another shrine, which possessed no miraculous pretensions—the tomb of his great-grandaunt—a true saint, though never canonized—the illustrious Duchess of Touraine. The Queen having recovered soon afterwards, the reputation of the Saint increased; and next summer saw the grateful King once more at St. Ninian's, accom-

panied this time by his Consort and by an imposing retinue that made their visit look more like a royal procession than a "pilgrim's progress." The College opened its gates to receive the King on this occasion also, Provost George Hepburn, who then ruled over it, being no doubt delighted with the opportunities that had been afforded to him of entertaining such an illustrious guest. By way of largess his Majesty, on the 3d of May 1506, gave eighteen shillings (xviij*s.*) "to the menstrales in Linclowden;" and "ane priest in Linclowden received six shillings[1] (vj*s.*) be the King's command." Between these scenes of mingled penitence, piety, and mirth, and the unrelieved gloom—the unspeakable agony—of Flodden field, there is the greatest possible contrast; yet they were separated by little more than seven years. When the gallant King perished in the fight there fell by his side many representatives of families closely connected with the subject of our narrative, among others—John, Lord Maxwell, with his four brothers; Robert, Lord Herries, with his brother Andrew; Uchtred M'Dowall of Garthland, with his eldest son Thomas; Gilbert M'Dowall of Freuch; Charles M'Dowall of Logan; Sir Alexander Gordon of Lochinvar; Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies; and Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig. To the "moaning" that the disaster drew forth from "ilka green loaning"—to the wild lament which it wrung from the very heart of the nation—Nithsdale and Galloway contributed more than an ordinary share.

[1] *Lord Treasurer's Accounts.* In each of these instances the performing musicians we may assume, belonged to the wandering class who were in the habit of visiting religious houses not less than baronial castles or mansions, and received food, lodging, and largess in return for their minstrelsy.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLLEGE.

Effect of the Reformation on Lincluden—John, the eighth Lord Maxwell, causes mass to be celebrated in the College Church—Is punished for this illegal act by the Privy Council—He is defeated and slain by the Johnstones at the battle of Dryfe Sands—Burial of his remains in Lincluden—His son, the ninth Lord, avenges his father's death by assassinating the Laird of Johnstone—Local connection of Lincluden with the deed.

Soon after the death of James V. in 1542 the Reformation, by which the Roman Catholic Establishment was eventually overthrown, began to make progress. John Knox gave an irresistible stimulus to the Protestant movement; and before Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent, died in 1560, it had, through his labours chiefly, spread over the whole land, though she had striven with all her might to arrest its course. Towards the close of the same year the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church was held, and the foundation of the new Establishment firmly laid. In the following year the Dauphin of France, to whom the daughter of King James had been married, died, and his youthful and beautiful widow returned to Scotland as its Queen, though, unfortunately for herself, she made her rule impossible by endeavouring vainly to overthrow the Protestant Establishment and build up anew the Papal Church. The armed conflict with the Lords of the Congre-

gation which Mary's policy provoked ended disastrously for her at Langside in 1568; the intensely pathetic sequel being her flight to England and her lengthened captivity there, from which she escaped only by a cruel death at the hands of the executioner.

This brief notice of the momentous events that were crowded into the twenty years which preceded Langside is all that is necessary for the purposes of our narrative. At the beginning of the period the monastic system was still in full force. Shaken by the voice of Knox and undermined by its own innate defects, it rapidly gave way, reaching the nadir of its doom in the summer and early autumn of 1560.[1] The Galloway monasteries were about the last to yield. Lincluden withstood the shock of the Reformation longer than its sister establishments; and we know from documentary evidence that its prebends, if not also its Provost, cherished for awhile the fond delusion that Queen Mary, aided by her devoted friend Lord Herries, would be able in some mysterious way to bring about a reaction in favour of the old faith.

Occasionally, if not regularly, some members of the Terregles family lodged in Lincluden, and the body of at least one of their historical chiefs was buried there in, it is believed, a sepulchral vault built at the east end of the church. The excavations at that part of the ruins may possibly, when further proceeded with, reveal the last earthly resting-place of John, the eighth Lord Maxwell,

[1] "It was on the 17th of August (1560) that the Parliament adopted the Confession of Faith as the confession of its faith. But something more required to be done to make the work of Reformation complete. On the 24th of the month the Estates again assembled and passed three Acts, which finished the long reign of Romanism in the country. By the first it was statute and ordained that all previous Acts of Parliament regarding the censures of the Church, or the worshipping of saints, should be annulled and deleted from the statute-book. By the second the Pope's jurisdiction was abolished within the realm. By the third to say a mass or hear a mass was made criminal; the first offence to be punished with confiscation of goods; the second with banishment; the third with death."—Dr. J. Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 276.

who when alive scarcely knew what it was to be at peace or rest. He opposed the Reformation to the uttermost, set the Government at defiance by causing mass to be celebrated in the College, originated a local movement for facilitating the Spanish invasion of this country by the Invincible Armada, which had for its object the overthrow of Protestantism; was put under arrest for his disloyalty, and, after having been leniently dealt with, became involved in new troubles which only terminated at his death.

Of the mass celebration a few details must be given. Lord Maxwell knew that such an act would alienate from him the royal favour, which he had regained; but he resolved nevertheless to manifest by that means in the most public way possible his adherence to Romanism. Responding to his summons, a large body of his followers, with several ecclesiastics, met at Dumfries on Christmas Day 1585, marched to Lincluden, and on arriving there mass was performed with unusual splendour and effect. For 400 years the sacred fane, first as an Abbey and next as a College, had been the scene of such religious rites; "but the choral swell with which the venerable walls rung on this occasion was as the dying requiem of the ancient faith—mass never having been since said or sung in the house of Uchtred."[1]

Lord Maxwell was forthwith summoned to appear before the Privy Council for thus daring to celebrate mass contrary to the law.[2] He had to expiate his offence by undergoing an imprisonment of several months, and was liberated on condition that he would make penitential submission to the Kirk. He appeared accordingly "in presence of the haill Assembly," and, "in respect of his obedience, protested his cautioner sould be freed, and took instruments upon his compearance and protestatioune." Thereupon the Court, because "they knew not the cause of his com-

[1] *History of Dumfries*, 2d edition, p. 259.
[2] Calderwood, vol. iv p. 489.

pearance, nor the King's Majestie's command thairanent, desyrit him to be present the morn before noon," and meanwhile declined to cancel the obligations of his cautioner. The second day's proceedings in the case are thus recorded:—"Compeirit the Earl of Mortoune, Lord Maxwell, being accusit for the heiring of mass, and [the minute of] the King's Majestie's Privie Counsell being read for the satisfactione of the Kirk thairanent, he answerit that he had satisfyed the King's law and desyrit the conference of learnit men concernyng the Religion and participatione of the Lord's table."[1] As three years afterwards Maxwell was mixed up with the Spanish Armada affair, the sincerity of his professions before the Assembly may well be questioned. However, on the 26th of January 1593, he, whether from motives of policy or conviction, subscribed the Confession of Faith before the Presbytery of Edinburgh.[2]

When that year had reached its latest day the church bells of Lincluden tolled mournfully, and the doleful requiem for the dead constituted its chief religious service. There had been fought on the 6th of December a great clan battle at Dryfe Sands, near Lockerbie, between the Maxwells, led by their chief, who was then Warden of the Western marches, and the Johnstones of Annandale, in which the Nithsdale men suffered a sore defeat. Retreating with his broken forces from the field when further resistance was hopeless, Lord Maxwell had been struck from his horse by an Annandale trooper and then mercilessly despatched.

Due arrangements having been made for the obsequies of the slaughtered chief, written invitations to attend the funeral at Lincluden were issued by William, Lord Herries, in name of the youthful son of the deceased. A copy of the letter sent to Sir John Maxwell of Pollok is subjoined:—"Ye have hard of the unfortunat slaughter

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, p. 294.

[2] Calderwood, vol. v. p. 222.

of your chieff, my Loird Erle of Mortoun.[1] I, with advyis of his frendis here hes thocht meet that the buriall of his body sal be upon Soneday, the penult of December instant; and [your attendance is desired] because ye are ane of his speciall friendis quhais presence is most requisite, baith for the furthsett of the burriall and for your counsell to be had anent the taking ordour with his Loirdshippe's bayrnes leving and friendis.—Dumfries, xi. Dec. 1593."[2]

The appointed day arrives. Toll the bells of Lincluden mournfully, begin the solemn burial service, let the plaint of sorrow mingle with the music of the choristers as the gates of the Church open to admit the coffined dust of the unfortunate Lord and the long train of mourners by which it is accompanied! With all these manifestations of respect and grief the obsequies of the deceased were celebrated. His tragical fate was deeply mourned in Nithsdale and Galloway, and excited a feeling of sympathy far beyond the district. Turbulent, contentious, and aggressive he undoubtedly was, yet he possessed many virtues. According to the testimony of Calderwood, he was "humane, learned, and courteous;"[3] and his faults were forgotten, at least by his friends, when they laid him in the tomb. As regards some of the mourners, a strong desire for revenge upon Sir James Johnstone of Dunskellie, chief of the Annandale clan, would mingle with their sorrow: if the youthful son of the deceased, when standing at the grave's mouth, did not literally say, like Edgar Ravenswood under somewhat similar circumstances, "Heaven do as much to me and more if I requite not to this man and his house the ruin and disgrace he has brought on me and mine,"[4]

[1] Lord Maxwell took this title, though it was borne also by the then Regent of Scotland, who seems to have had no proper claim to it.

[2] *Maxwells of Pollok*, p. 170.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 47.

[4] *Bride of Lammermoor*, chap. ii.

we know that the ninth Lord Maxwell registered the same vow in his heart. And then how ruthlessly he gave effect to his resolution by, long afterwards, assassinating the Annandale chief!

Here we might have left the subject had it not been that there are strong grounds for concluding that the crime was planned in Lincluden, and that Lord Maxwell hurried red-handed from the scene of the tragedy to take shelter under the roof of the College. It is due to the assassin to state that though Sir James Johnstone was enjoying the favour of royalty at the time, he had previously been "put to the horn" for having "murdred" the king's representative at Dryfe Sands, and afterwards been guilty of other deeds of violence and treason committed against a body of royal troops sent to Annandale under the new Warden, Lord Herries, for the purpose of tranquillising the district. The light in which Johnstone was viewed by the Government is reflected in the following proclamation dated at Holyrood House 31st January 1598:—

"Our Sovrane Lord and Estaits presentlie convenit having considerit the complaint and supplicatioun gevein in be the subjectis inhabitantis within the boundis of Niddesdaill, Annandaill and uther pairtis of the west bordour, beiring in effect that quhair it is not unknawin to his Matie and Lordis of Counsall quhat grit odious and detestabill slauchteris, murthuris, bluidschedis, and enormiteis hes bene perpetrat and comittit be the Laird of Johnnestoun, his name, kyn, and friends: having first maist crewallie and unmercifullie slane and murtherit umqle Johnne Lord Maxwell, his hienes Lieutenant and officiar for the tyme, with the Laird of Natherpook and sindrie uthers, barrounis and gentilmen to the number of threttie or fourtie: Nixt a grit number of honest men of the Sanquhar, with sindrie gentilmen and others sensyne, to the grit contempt of God, his Matie, all forme of law and justice, and the troubill of the quyet estait of the cuntrey: And how that the said Laird continewis still in prosequiting a maist wyld and bludie

course without respect of assurance, ayth, or promeis, or reserveing of ony dewtie toward God his Ma^tie, or mutuall luif and cheritie towardis his nychtbour"—for these enormities all good subjects are forbidden to receive, supply, fortify, assist, intercommune with, show favour to, or intercede for the said Laird of Johnstone, under pain of his Highness' indignation, and all who disobey are threatened with condign punishment.[1]

From this deadly-looking missive Dunskellie received no harm. Strange to say, soon after its emission the fickle-minded King received his refractory subject at Court, and endeavoured with apparent success to effect a reconcilement between him and the enemy of his house. Maxwell, urged by his Sovereign Highness, agreed to retire to his Castle of Mearns in Clydesdale, first granting "letters of slanes" on behalf of Sir James Johnstone, remitting and forgiving "all hatred, rancour, mutual grudge, and quarrel which he had against him for the slaughter of John Lord Maxwell, his father, and all other slaughters, mutilations, and insolencies which followed thereon."[2] As events proved, however, the reconciliation thus effected was a mere pretence, so far as the Nithsdale chief was concerned. After a brief stay in Lanarkshire he returned home still cherishing vengeance; the usage of the period not less than the feelings of his heart urging him to compass the death of Dunskellie at all risks and hazards.

Dreading such an issue, and anxious to foreclose its occurrence, Sir Robert Maxwell of Orchardtoun, who was on cordial terms with the two barons, brought about a personal interview between them, each, according to arrangement, being accompanied by a friend, with the mediating Laird also present. The meeting was held at Auchmanhill, parish of Holywood, the Nithsdale Lord having for his companion Charles Maxwell, an "ill-conditioned"

[1] *Acta Parliamentorum Jacobi VI.*, p. 166.
[2] *Annandale Papers.*

kinsman, and Dunskellie riding on an old nag "for secresie of the tryst," having his relative, William Johnstone of Lockerbie, as his associate. Before the principals forgathered each pledged his oath to Orchardtoun that, "whatever might be the upshot otherwise, they would meet fairlie and part fairlie;" and as matters wore a promising aspect, the well-meaning mediator withdrew to a short distance, fully expecting that the result would be satisfactory.

Meanwhile the two subordinates exchange words. "Gif I had known of this tryst," said Charles Maxwell peevishly, "the Lord Maxwell neither could nor should have brought me here."—"I hope in God, Charlie," responds the other, "ye do not rue of coming here for so good an object! for thir twa noblemen have been lang at variance, and I hope now they shall agree, and be gude friends." To which the other, working himself into a rage, and affecting to be on the side of injured innocence, thus retorts: "Agree? Impossible! The Laird of Johnstone is not able to make amends for the great skaith and injury he has done to the house of Maxwell!"—"But," said Johnstone soothingly, "our chief can come in his Lordship's will, and do all he is able to satisfy him and his friends."—"Not so," said the other, raising his voice and getting into a transport of passion, real or simulated; "and as for this tryst, it is only made for our prejudice; and that man," pointing to Dunskellie, "has sought his wraik, and we should never have met you, for ye are all traitors!—all traitors!"

Johnstone, knowing how all-important it is to avoid a quarrel at this critical period, patiently protests that he would enter into no altercation that day. "But," he adds, his Border blood warming at the provoking language addressed to him, "send your man to me in a day or two, and I shall satisfy you." No verbal answer is given to this remark: Charlie replies to it with a pistol-shot.

Lockerbie raises his pistol to return the fire, but it flashes in the pan; and then he shouts loudly, "Murder! treason!" Sir James Johnstone, summoned by the cry of alarm, turns round to ride back; so does Lord Maxwell, the latter at the same time drawing a pistol as if to take aim at Dunskellie. "Fie, my Lord!" entreats the startled mediator, now rushing forward; "mak not yourself a traitor and me both."—"Upbraid me not," answers the Nithsdale chief; "I am wyteless." Yet he follows the defenceless Laird of Johnstone—fires—the shot takes fatal effect—for a minute or more the dying man retains his seat—then the weak old horse below him founders—its girth gives way—prone to the earth falls the ill-fated chief, treacherously slain in the flower of his age—life's sands ebbing rapidly away. Vainly does his faithful friend endeavour to get him borne off on his own powerful steed. While thus engaged Charles Maxwell, with superfluous malignity, fires another shot at the bleeding victim, who, after dolefully exclaiming, "I am deceived!" and fervently praying, "Lord, have mercy on me! Christ, have mercy on me!" breathes his last, and is beyond reach of the fiendish hate which plotted his ruin, and the help of the strong human love which his kinsman manifests by ineffectual sobs and tears.

"Come away! let us be off," cried Lord Maxwell, when the butchery was completed. "My Lord," remonstrated his demoniac emissary, "will ye ride away and leave this bludie thief Johnstone of Lockerbie behind?"—"What reck of him," quoth Nithsdale, "since the other has had enough!" and with these words both rode away from the dismal scene.[1]

The night of the tragedy was spent by the pair in Lincluden

[1] A full account of this "bluidy tryst" appears in the author's *History of Dumfries*, the first edition of which bears date 1867, based on evidence given at the trial of Lord Maxwell, as reported in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*. From this account we have drawn to some extent in the text. *The Book of Carlaverock*, published many years afterwards, contains a very similar sketch.

College. That they sallied forth from it to the fatal trysting-place is more than probable; that they returned to it after their work was done seems to be a matter of certainty. There is a charter in existence, signed by John, Lord Maxwell, at Lincluden, in which he grants the five-pound farm of Nunbellie, belonging to the Provostry, to Charles Maxwell and his heirs "for a certain sum, and in consideration of good services gratuitously rendered by the grantee to the granter."[1] This document bears date the 6th of April 1608, the day of the murder of Sir James Johnstone. Can there be a doubt that the "good services" vaguely acknowledged in the charter refer to the share taken by its recipient in the terrible crime?

For a while afterwards Maxwell remained at large, though summoned to appear for trial before the High Court of Justiciary, charged with sundry other crimes besides the one that capped them all. Not only did he pour contempt on the writ of summons: he also put the royal authority at defiance, going about the country "in a bragging manner, as gif there had been na King in Isreil nor na punishment for offence."[2] Tried in absence, he was found guilty, and condemned to suffer "the tynfall of his lyfe and confiscation of all his gudis." Soon all the resources of the Crown, general and local, were drawn upon to secure his capture; and, hard pressed on every side, the bold outlawed rebel sinks into a terror-stricken fugitive. He finds a hiding-place for a while in or about Dumfries; and the College, which is so closely associated with his crime, stands up for a brief season between him and the grisly scaffold that is hungering for its prey. But even faithful Lincluden finds that the darkness of its deepest vaults may be irradiated by the detective's torch so as to betray the poor Lord's whereabouts.

[1] The document is preserved at Carruchan.—*Book of Carlaverock*, vol. i. p. 313.

[2] *Acta Parliamentorum Jacobi VI.*, p. 415.

In no portion of broad Scotland is Maxwell any longer safe; and finding this to be the case, he bids his friends "Good-night" in words that have blossomed into song under the treatment of a sympathetic balladist, name unknown.

"Adieu, madam, my mother dear,
But and my sisters three;
Adieu, fair Robert of Orchardstone,
My heart is wae for thee;
Adieu, the lily and the rose,
The primrose fair to see;
Adieu, my lady and only joy,
For I may not stay with thee.

"Though I have slain the Lord Johnstone,
What care I for their feid?
My noble mind their wrath disdains,
He was my father's deid.
Both night and day I laboured oft
Of him avenged to be;
But now I've got what lang I sought,
And I may not stay with thee.

"Adieu! Dumfries, my proper place,
But and Carlaverock fair;
Adieu! my castle of the Thrieve,
Wi' a' my buildings there;
Adieu! Lochmaben's gates sae fair,
The Langholm holm where birks there be;
Adieu! my lady and only joy,
For I may not stay with thee."

On the sequel, so justly but sorrowfully retributive, we shall not linger. Impelled by an irrepressible desire to see the vale of Nith once more, the exile, after a long absence in France, ventured home. His apprehension soon followed. Vainly did he appeal to the King for mercy on the plea that the death of Sir James Johnstone was accidental, and his numerous friends pleaded equally in

vain that his life might be spared. He was beheaded on the 18th of May 1613. Thus perished the ninth Lord Maxwell. His fate was "deplored by a host of mourners, many of whom looked upon his crime as a legitimate piece of feudal revenge. His own kinsmen and people did not view him in the light of a malefactor brought to justice: they pitied him as one who had been more unfortunate than guilty."[1] Alike in the lordly halls of Terregles and Carlaverock, and in the humbler house of Lincluden, there was great lamentation because of his cruel and untimely end.

It only remains for us to say, in connection with this painful episode, that Lady Elizabeth Douglas, widow of the chief who was slaughtered at Dryfe Sands, survived him many years, during the course of which she became the wife of Alexander Stewart of Garlies (father of the first Earl of Galloway); and that after her death in 1637, her son Robert, brother of the ninth Lord, "gave her a sumptuous funeral, and afterwards transported her remains to the College Kirk of Lincluden, to be interred in a vault beside those of her first husband."[2]

[1] *History of Dumfries*, p. 293.
[2] *Book of Carlaverock*, vol. i. pp. 298-99.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COLLEGE.

Register Buik of the College Kirk, 1547-64—Analysis of its contents—Names of the feuars—Conditions on which they held their farms—List of the College lands and other property: Quesby, Mollance, Garrantoun, Ffuffok, Hillyntoun, Clairbrand, Ernalaury, Auchyndoly, Largneane, Lytill Dryburgh, Drumjarge, Ernfillane, Blak Park, Erncrago, Glengopok, Culcrufe, Blaryuny, Chapelerne, Mekle Dryburgh, Chepmantoun, Trodale, The Crofftis, The Ardis, Blaikerne, Ernemyne, Ernannydy, Mains of Grenelaw, Culnotry, Mill of Corsmychell, Corrouchane, Staikfurde, Newtoun, Marieholme, Clwny and Skilling Holme, Terrauchty, Dronganis, Troqueir, Stotholme, Mains of College, Fishing of College, Nunland, Crufstanis, The Holme, Nunholme, Nunbelly, Mill of Terrauchty with Croft, Staikfurd Mill, Five Kirks of Carlauerok, Kirkbeane, Prestoun, Culuen Kirk, Terreglis Kirk, and Lochreuton Kirk.

THERE has been fortunately preserved a folio volume of sixty pages, which supplies valuable information about the temporalities of the Collegiate Church, the position of its prebendars, and the general economy of the establishment during the several stages of the Revolution at which we glanced in the preceding chapter. The manuscript has suffered considerably from wear and tear, but nothing like so much as the structure to whose wealth it bears witness. It is entitled "The Register Buik of the Fewis maid be the College Kirk of Linclouden, 1547-1564."[1] A general list

[1] Chalmers makes several very brief references to the "Register Buik," showing that he was aware of its existence; but in this and the succeeding chapter its contents are made known for the first time.

is given, in the first place, of the College lands and other property, with the extent or value of each[1] and the terms on which they were let, and in most instances the names of the respective feuars are also recorded. So important do we deem this portion of the chartulary that we give it entire, except that some formal legal terms, such as "auerage and careage, bune verk and all vithir deu serwice," which appear in each lease, have been for an obvious reason omitted from all but two or three special quotations. The lands are almost invariably stated to have been let on feu-farm, and that portion of the rents paid in money is termed "mail;" while it is required that the "victual," which often constituted the larger half of them, was to have its quantity tested by a vessel termed "The Grete Mesour of Nyth." With these explanations we subjoin a copy of the first portion of the document, the original spelling, which does not present many difficulties, having been retained.

LINCLOUDEN REGISTER BUIK.

Copia rentalis Magistrj Robertj Dowglas prepositj de Linclouden prout sequitur.

Assedatioun of the landis of the baronyis of Corsmichael and Drumslete for thre yeris begynnand at Vitsondaye in the yeir of God ane thowsand fywe hundreth fifty sevin yeris sett be Maister Robert Dowglas prowest of Linclouden.

[1] Ancient Scottish terms about land measurement and valuation:—*Oxgate* = 13 acres (in field land); *Merkland* = 34⅔ acres, or ⅓ of a ploughgate; *Poundland* or *20s. land* = 52 acres, or 4 oxgates. Two-poundland, ploughgate or 40s. land, equivalent to a *Three merkland:* all equal to 104 acres, or 8 oxgates.—*Legal Antiquities*, by Cosmo Innes, pp. 267, 270.

In the reign of Alexander III. the monies in Scotland were about the same value as in England. King Robert Bruce depreciated the coinage, and it never recovered its old value. About the Reformation period 5s. Scots was nearly equivalent to 1s. sterling; so that £1 sterling had the same power of purchase as 100s. or £5 Scots. From the year 1600, or down till the time when sterling money superseded the old Scots

CORSMYCHEL [BARONY].

Vnder sic conditionis as followis geif ony of the tenentes gevis thair kyndnes of the said malyngis to ony persoun vithout licence of me or bryngis in subtenentes or payis nocht thair dewteis contenit in this rentale vndervrittin thair takkis to expire and thair kyndnes to remane in my handis.

QUESBY v merk land payand yeirlie xvj bollis of meill v merk of maill / x^{s} lammes maill / a dosane poultrie / xx laid of petis and thre bollis of multure meill.

MOLLANCE v merk land payand yeirle viij bollis of meill of the greit mesour of Nyth xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} maill at vitsonday and mertymes equalie / v^{s} lammes maill xij fowlis / xx creillis of petis vith auerage and careage bwne verk and all vthir dew seruice vith tua bollis ane furlote of multure meill of the mesour foirsaid vith the conditionis contenit in the begynning of the rentale.

GARRANTOUN v merk land payand yeirlie xvj bollis of meill xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} maill at vitsonday and mertymes equalie v^{s} lames maill xij fowlis xx creillis of petis vith auerage and carreage and dew seruice vith thre bollis multure meill of the grete mesure of Nyth / Ville Brovn ane quarter Johne Garrane ane quarter Andro Makcadze ane quarter Niniane Garrane ane quarter. Appilgyrtht.

FFUFFOK tua merk land and ane half payand yeirlie xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} maill at vitsonday and mertymes equalie v^{s} lames maill xij fowlis xx creillis of petis and vj furlotis multure meill / Andro Mak-clarschar that ane half John Charteris that vthir half.

HILLYNTOUN v mark land payand yeirlie that ane half xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} m[aill at] vitsonday and mertymes equalie v^{s} lammes maill xij foulis xx cr[eillis of] petis, etc., and vj fur[lotis] of multure meill, Michael Hillow the said half . . . . . That vthir half of Hillyntoun payand yeirlie vj bollis meill xvj^{s} viij^{d} maill at vitsonday and mertymes

coinage, 1s. Scots was equal to no more than 1d. English, and £1 Scots to 1s. 8d. English; one merk Scots was equivalent to 13⅓d. sterling.

equalie xxx^{d} lammes maill vj foulis ten laid of petis and vj furlottis multure meill.

CLAIRBRAND v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertymes equalie x^{s} lammes male xxiiij foulis xl creilis of petis vith tua [bollis] and iij furlottis of multure meill, Margaret Scrogeoun that ane half and Johne Grenlaw hir . . . . . eftir hir deces / Roger Gordoun that vthir half /

ERNALAURY v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} at vitsonday and mertymes equalie x^{s} lames male xxiiij foulis xl creillis of petis vith tua bollis and ane half multure meill. James Murray that ane half / John Vilson that vthir half.

AUCHYNDOLY v merk land payand yeirlie vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertymes equalie xij fowlis and tua bollis of multure meill. The fowlis delete.

LARGNEANE v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsondaye and mertymes equalie x^{s} lammes maill xxiiij foulis xl creillis of petis and ix furlottis of meill. John Makcalland that ane half and Sir James McCallan ane quarter providan that Helene Meyn his guid moder brovk the samyn during hir veddowheid and at the said Sir James mak na assigna of this tak nor kyndnes except to ane of his brethir / Anabell Brown ane quarter and . . . Meyn hir sone.

LYTILL DRYBURGH v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertymes equalie x^{s} lammes maill xxiiij foulis and tua bollis of multure meill. Villiam Maxwell and Herbert his sone the haill.

DRUMJARGE v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} maill at vitsonday and mertymes equalie x^{s} lammes maill xxiiij foulis and tua bollis of multure meill. Herbert Maxwell the haill.

ERNFILLANE tua markland and ane half payand yeirlie xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertymmes equalie v^{s} lammes maill xij foulis xx crelis of petis and fyve furlottis of multure meill. James Murray.

BLAK PARK tua merkland and ane half payand yeirlie xvj bollis meill and vj furlottis of multure meill. Villiam Maxwell and Herbert his sone the haill.

ERNCRAGO v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie x^{s} lammes male xxiiij foulis xl creillis of petis and tua bollis of multur meill. Herbert Maxwell.

GLENGOPOK v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsondaye and mertymmes equalie x^{s} lammes male xxiiij fowlis xx laidis of petis and tua bollis of multure meill. James Gordoun and Janet Stewart his spous the haill.

CULCRUFE v merkland payand yeirlie vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertymmes equalie vith xxiiij fowlis xl creillis of petis and tua bollis of multure meill. John Makknacht that ane half and failzeing of hym his brothir Villiam Stewart sone to Archbald Stewart the tothir half.

BLARYUNY v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at [vitsonday] and mertymmes equalie x^{s} lammmes aill xxiiij foulis xl creillis of [petis] and vj fur[lottis of] multure meill. Johne Maxwell of the Hillis the haill.

CHAPELERNE x merkland payand yeirlie xx^{lib} male at vitson[day and] mertynmes equalie and iiij bollis of multure meill. Lard of Lochinvar.

MEKLE DRYBURGH v merkland payand yeirlie xij^{lib} male at vitsonday and [mertynmes] equalie and iij bollis of multure meill. Johne Rig.

CHEPMANTOUN v merkland payand yeirlie x^{lib} male at vitsonday and [mertyn]mes equalie and x furlottis of multure meill. Johne Maxwell in Hillis.

TRODALE v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie x^{s} lammes maill xxiiij fowlis and tua bollis of multure meill. James of Murray.

THE CROFFTIS x merkland payand yeirlie xxiij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and v bollis of multure meill. The Makclellenis.

THE ARDIS v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie x^{s} lammes maill xxiiij fowlis xl creillis of petis and iij bollis of multure meill. Drumlangrig.

BLAIKERNE v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie x^{s} lammes male xxiiij fowlis and tua bollis of multure meill. Johne Maxwell of Hillis the haill.

ERNEMYNE v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and iij bollis of multure meill. James Murraye that ane half and John Vilson the vthir half Lard of Johnstoun.

ERNANNYDY twa merkland and ane half payand yeirlie xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsondaye and mertynmes equalie v^{s} lammes maill vj bollis meill xij fowlis x creillis of petis and ane boll of multure meill. Riche Brown the haill.

THE MANIS of the GRENELAW x^{lib} land iij scoir of lib. for iiij or fywe chalder of meill.

CULNOTRY v merkland payand yeirlie x^{lib} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie x^{s} lammes male xxiiij fowlis and vj furlottis of multure meill. Alexander Gordoun sone to the Lard of Holme the haill.

The MYLNE of CORSMYCHELL iiij chalder of multure that the haill barony payis to the said myll.

DRUMSLETE BARONY.

CORROUCHANE vj merkland payand yeirlie thre chalder of meill and ane chalder of corne of the samyn mesour or ellis . . . chalder of meill at my vill for the multure of the samyn and iiij^{lib} [mair at] vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and viij scoir of creillis of petis for ane . . . laid and ilkane of the tenentis vndirvrittin ar boundyn conjunctlie and seuerlie for the yeirlie payment of the seruices and dewtie abone expremit. Michaell Anderson aucht pairt / John Cammok aucht pairt / Ville Anderson aucht pairt / Cubbe Anderson aucht pairt / Johne Vrycht ane aucht pairt / Robin Pat . . . ane aucht pairt / Pate Anderson ane aucht pairt Habbe Anderson ane aucht pairt for Sturgeounis croft and John Cammokis lytill croft and ane xvj pairt occupiit be John Blakis vif payand yeirlie vij bollis tua peckis and or . . . to be allowit xviij peckis for John Cammokis croft in the said John Cammokis . . . . swa dependis yeirlie ane boll of meill of none payment of the aucth pairt quhilk Habbe Anderson occupiis

Providan alwayis that nane of the said tenentis bring in ony outtin townman in the mos of the said town vnder the p[ane] of forfalting of thair takkis and at nane of the said tenentis intromett mos delt and assignit to my self vnder the samyn pane / Item that na tenent of the said land hald sa mony sowmes[1] apon the tath of the said . . . . efferand to his pairt and at nane of the said sowmes be haldin fra the . . . . . vnder the pane of half ane mark for ilk falt.

STAIKFURDE xv^{s} land payand yeirlie xxx^{s} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie vith multure aucht and wont. Isobell Sloane xx^{d} and ob. land. Jame Capet vij^{s} vj^{d} land. Joke Sawrycht xxij^{d} and ob. land. John Scot xxij^{d} and ob. land.

NEWTOUN xl^{s} land payand yeirlie iiij$^{li\text{b}}$ male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie vith multure aucht and vont. Mungo Cunyngham xxxv^{s} land Mariote Gordoun and Johne Cunyngham thair sone / Helena Lewris and Vincent Scot hir sone xxx^{d} land / Johne M^{c}Kynan xxx^{d} land.

MARIEHOLME xx^{s} land payand yeirlie xl^{s} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie vith and multure aucht. Marion Cunyngham that ane half and Ville Cunyngham hir sone eftir hir deceis.

CLWNY and SKILLING HOLME ane markland payand yeirlie xxxvj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and ix furlottis of multure meill / Memo. the medow of this townn is all and haill in my handis. Arche Heres ane tua pairt, Johne Rob ane thrid pairt.

TERRAUCHTY vj merkland payand yeirlie iiij$^{li\text{b}}$ male at vitsonday and mertynmes vith xxxvj foulis and viij bollis multure meill. Johne Cammok of the Yett ane merkland / John Rob Jame Rob and Thom Rob half ane merkland / Arche Cammok the thrid pairt of ane merkland / John Cammok tailyour xl^{d} land Johne Anderson ane merkland and the tua pairt of ane merkland in few as he allegiis / Thom Cammokis vif x^{s} land.

DRONGANIS vj markland payand yeirlie iiij$^{li\text{b}}$ male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie xxxvj fowlis and multure aucht and vynt. Roger Makbrair the haill and Johne M^{c}Brair his sone eftir his deces.

[1] A soum is as much land as will pasture one cow or five sheep.

TROQUEIR v markland payand yeirlie vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and multure aucht and wount. Johne Riche and Thom Riche half ane merkland Thom Pane half ane merkland James Maxwell xxxvj^{s} viij pennyvorth of land Villiam Maxwell be the consent of his fader x^{s} land.

STOTHOLME xiij^{s} iiij^{d} land payand yeirlie xiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie vj capones and multure aucht and wynt. James Cunyngham the haill and Katheryn Kenyde his spous.

THE MANIS of the COLLEGE and the NUNWODE vj merkland payand yeirlie xxiiij bollis of meill or ellis xlviij bollis of aittis quhilk at I pleis best and vj merkis of maill in the handis of Paul Cunyngham and James Cunynghame his sone unsett.

THE FISCHING of the COLLEGE.

THE NUNLAND v merkland payand yeirlie vj^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie and multure aucht and vont. Johne M^{c}Morane ane thrid pairt.

THE CRUFSTANIS[1] v merkland payand yeirlie iij^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie ane bailye daye of seruice and multure aucht and vont. Elizabeth Dowglas the haill and eftir hir James Anderson hir sone.

THE HOLME vj merkland payand yeirlie iiij^{lib} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie xxxvj fowlis and multure aucht and vont.

THE NUNHOLME iiij merkland payand yeirlie v^{lib} vj^{s} viij^{d} male at vitsonday and mertynmes equalie vith iiij capones vith the xx corne . . . aittis of multure to the Staikfurde myll. Johne Johnstoun the haill.

THE NUNBELLY x merkland in the Lord Maxwellis handis vnsett quhilk wes vount to pay to the place xl bollis meill and beir and ten merkis of maill yeirlie as is contenit in prowest Andro M^{c}Brekis rentell.

THE MYLN of TERRAUCHTY xl bollis of meill of the grete mesor of Nyth.

CROFT ANGRI pertenyng to the myll of Terrauchty payand yeirlie iiij^{s} male at vitsonday and mertynmes.

[1] Curriestanes.

THE STAIKFURD MYLN payand yeirlie xvj bollis of meill of the grete mesor of Nyth.

THE FYWE KIRKIS / the vicaris pensioun of CARLAUEROK.

CARLAUEROK[1] iiij^{xx} tua bollis iij furlottis meill by the vicaris pensioun / And xlix bollis iij furlottis iij peckis beir as at lenth is contenit in the buik of the kirkis assignit to the viij chaplanis and the Sacristane Ilk chaiplane xiij bollis and the Sacristane viij bollis and the excrescence to perteyn to the prowest.

KIRKBEANE iiij chalder and ane half vij bollis iij furlottis of meill the haill consignit to the vicar / and xxx bollis iij furlotis of beir pertening to myself.

PRESTOUN xxxv bollis of beir in my Lord Maxwellis handis vnsett for xx^{lib}. in the yeir.

CULUEN KIRK[2] xliij bollis of meill.

TERREGLIS KIRK iiij chalder of the quhilk the vicar hes assignit to hym iij chalder / and ane chalder in my handis of the Manis of Terreglis.

LOCHREUTOUN KIRK[3] xx^{lib}. of mony.

[1] Carlaverock. [2] Colvend. [3] Lochrutton.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COLLEGE.

"The Register Buik" continued—Functions of the Provost and Prebendars—Regulations as to the College bells and seals—Provision made for the repair of the Church and the vestments of its officials—Prebendar Rig, custodier of the common seal of the brethren, takes action against Provost Douglas for appropriating the seal.

THE second portion of "The Register Buik," which we proceed to notice, specifies the charters granted by the College community, and includes some curious minutes of their proceedings. From it we learn that while John, Lord Maxwell, acted as Bailie of all the Lincluden estates he received remuneration in the form of certain land assigned to him in fee; that the Provost, or Lord Provost as he is sometimes termed, was not an autocrat (though some who bore the title tried to become so), but that he was required to shape his rule by the advice of his prebendars, they standing in the same relation to him as cabinet ministers to a constitutional monarch; that they had a seal of their own, without the impress of which the charters had no validity, even though stamped by the Provost's seal; that "the common seal of the place" was entrusted to one of the brethren; that Provost Robert Douglas, who was chargeable with doing many high-handed things in his day, appropriated this seal on one occasion and was brought to book for it by its legal custodier. From the same authoritative docu-

ment we learn that the College bells were placed under the care of the prebendars, and that they were duly paid for causing them to be rung at prescribed periods and for finishing the musical "tintinabulum" with three strokes, having a pause between each stroke, during which the listeners might interject a prayer or two. Interesting references appear in the charters also to the percentage of national taxation levied on the College for carrying on war against "the auld enemies," the English; to the "reparation" of the College buildings; to a special service called "The Lady of Galloway service;" to the "Herbarium" of the house; to the verdant knoll on the south-west termed Kirk Hill; and to various other familiar places and objects, such as "The toun of the Bridgend" (Maxwelltown), the Corbyhill (Corbelly), the lands of the Friars Minors in Dumfries, and the mills of Terraughty and Stakeford, which ground provender for the Lincluden brethren and the general population of the district.

Several of the charters are given pretty full, and the less important ones in a condensed form; and while many routine sentences have been left out for the sake of brevity, sub-headings have been put in that do not appear in the original MSS.

Charter to Cuthbert Kar—the College Bell-ringers paid out of his rent.

1. Charter by George, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden, with consent of the whole chapter, in favour of their lovite servitor, Mr. Cuthbert Kar, of all and whole the croft, toft, tenements, and yards, lying in their barony of Drumsleit, within the lordship of Lincluden, shire of Dumfries and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright,—contiguous and near to the outer gate within the precincts of the said church, on the west side thereof; together with the grass of two soumes of animals, and one horse, in their pasture, within the Grange of Lincluden; with liberty of turf or

peat yearly on their muir, and the "spred erd"[1] for sustentation and use of the dwellers in the said tenements; which subjects belonged to the deceased Sir John Logan heritably, and were sold to the deceased Andrew Kar, father of the said Mr. Cuthbert, without consent of the granters' predecessors, and therefore became in the hands of the granters, on account of non-payment of three years' rent due to them therefor, and the sale thereof without consent of their predecessors, the lords superiors of the same: To hold to the said Mr. Cuthbert Kar, his heirs and assignees, in feu ferme, heritably, of the granters and their successors, for the yearly rent of 6s 8d, payable to them; and also 10s yearly to the prebendars or chaplains of the said church, at the two usual terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions, for causing the bell to be rung nightly about the eighth hour, for the space of one quarter of an hour, or thereby, vulgarly called "the aucht houris bell," in all time coming, with three strokes at the end, so that between each stroke there may be said a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo in Deum, for the souls of all and sundry predecessors, founders, and of all others dead and living, in name of feu ferme: In witness whereof the seal of the said Provost and the common seal of the chapter were appended, together with his subscription and those of three of the prebendars of the said church, at their church of Lincluden on 5th June 1547, before these witnesses, Mr. John Stewart, George Maxwell, Herbert Johnston, David Makgee, etc. Signed by G. Marshal Provost of Lincluden, and the following prebendars, Thomas Welche, John Brices, James Caruthers, Sir John Lawdar, Sir John Rigg. Attested by David Makgee, notary.

[NOTE.—The signatures are merely copied in the register.]

To MARION CUNYNGHAME and her Son.

2. Charter by Provost George Marshall in favour of Marion Cunynghame, wife of Paul Cunynghame, in liferent, and to William Cunynghame, their son, his heirs, etc., of the toft, croft, tenements, etc., described in No. 1,—proceeding on resignation by Mr. Cuthbert Kar, and to be held on the same conditions as already noted. Sealed and subscribed

[1] Ground on which the peats were spread to dry before being stacked.

at Edinburgh, 18 August 1547. Subscribed by the Provost and the same prebendars as in preceding charter.

To JAMES MAXWELL—part of the Rent paid as Multure to Stakeford Mill.

3. Charter by Provost Robert Douglas, with consent of the chapter, in favour of James Maxwell in Troqueir, in liferent, and James Maxwell younger, his grandson, heritably, of 3½ mercates of the lands of Troqueir, extending in yearly rental to £6 10s. 8d. To hold in feu ferme and heritage, with arriage, carriage and other services, and the 13th grain of the multure of all grain grown upon the said lands, payable to the mill of Staikfurde, and 20 pence yearly of augmentation of rental. Seals of the granter and the chapter appended, at the said church, on 9th October 1563. Subscribed by Provost Douglas and the following prebendars:—Sir John Rig, Archibald Menzies, Sir Mark Carruthers, Sir John Baty, and John Morton.

To HERBERT MAXWELL of Cavens and his Grandson—a portion of the Lands bounded by the Bridge of Dumfries.

4. Charter to Herbert Maxwell, in Cavennis, in liferent, and Herbert Maxwell, his grandson, heritably, of the lands of Little Dryburgh and Drumjarge, Ernecrago, and Blakpark; also three roods of land, with the "onsett," at the west end of the bridge of Dumfries: To hold in feu ferme and heritage of the Provosts of Lincluden: rendering for Little Dryburgh and Drumjarge 10 merks yearly; 20s. for the Lammas maill, four dozen of poultry, four bolls of multure meal, as the old yearly ferme for the same: and 10 merks for the gressum of the said lands, computing and proportionably dividing the said gressum according to the rate at each triennial setting thereof: For Ernecrago £3 6s. 8d., and 10s. for Lammas maills, two dozen poultry, two bolls multure meal, 40 creels of peats, gressum 4 merks, with triennial division as above: For Blakpark, with the moss thereof, 16 bolls of oat meal, six firlots of multure meal, with usual services: and for the three roods and onsett 4s. in name of

feu ferme: with 5^{s} in augmentation of the rental of Little Dryburgh, and the other lands above mentioned: providing that the tenants of the lands and barony of Crosmychell be allowed every year to dig and carry away peats in the moss of Blakpark. Sealed 1st April 1564. Subscribed by the Provost, Sir John Tailzeour, prebendar, and the others as in No. 3.

Another Charter to the Same.

The next charter begins in these terms:—

5. Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres me Maister Robert Dowglas Provest of Lincloudoun with expres consent and assent of the prebendaris of the college kirk thairof cheptourlie gedderit the utilitie and proffett of ws and our said kirk being alwayis providit and considerit to have sett and to maill lattin and be thir present lettres settis and to maill lattis to my weilbelouetis Herbert Maxwell in Cavennis and Herbert Maxwell his nevoy [and their heirs. The lands thus conveyed are designated] the ten mark land of Litill Dryburgh and Drumjarg the five mark land of Ernecrago and twa mark land and ane half of Blakpark with the mos thairof Also thre rudis of land with the onesett liand at the brigend of Drumfres on the west end thairof for nynetene yeiris frelie quietlie weill and in peace; the yeirlie rent for Litill Dryburgh and Drumjarge being ten markis at twa termes in the yeir Witsunday and Mertingmes be equale portionis of maill twenty schillingis lammes maill four dosane pultrie foure bollis multure meill with arragis carragis and vthiris dewteis and dew service at the termes of payment vsit of before togidder with twenty poundis mony forsaid of girsum every thre yeir at termes usit and wount eftir the forme of the rentale And for Ernecrago the sowme of thre poundis sex schillingis viij^{d} at the saidis twa termes ten . . . lammes maill twa dosane of pultrie twa bollis of multur meill . . . of petis at termes of payment usit of before with aucht poundis of gresum every t[erm] And for Blakpark with the mos thairof and thair pertinentis . . . bollis meill sufficient stuff of the greit mesure of Nyth sax furlotis meill siclike at termes of payment usit and wount And for the saidis thre rudis and onesett the sowme of foure schillingis at the saidis termes be equale portionis allanerlie.

The charter closes with a clause reserving the rights of the other tenants of the barony to win peats in Blakpark moss. Signed by the Provost and Prebendaries 1st April 1564.

To Robert Maxwell, Grandson of Herbert.

6. Charter to Robert Maxwell, grandson of Herbert Maxwell, in Cavennis, and the heirs male of his body: whom failing, to Richard Maxwell, his brother, and the heirs male of his body, etc., of the five merk lands of Crwstanes: To hold for the yearly payment of £3 6s 8d: with "baillie day service," etc., and 44s 5½d of gressum, proportioned to the triennial setting: the grain grown on the lands to be carried to the granters' mill of Staikfurde and there ground: Sealed 1st April 1564. Same signatures as in Nos. 3 and 4.

Bond by Herbert Maxwell for the Protection of the Prebendars.

7. Bond by Herbert Maxwell, in Cavennis, as principal, and taking burden for Herbert and Robert Maxwell his "ooys" [grandsons], and George Maxwell, of Little Ardre, as his cautioner, to warrant the prebendars of Lincluden skaithless at the hands of James Anderson in the Feland, and all others pretending or having right to certain feu lands 19 years tacks, lately granted to the said Herbert, and to the deceased William Maxwell's sons, his "ooys," and specially of the five merk land of the Crustanes. At Dumfries 1 April 1564. Witnesses, Sir William Edgar, James Edgar, George Welche burgess of Edinburgh, and William Thomson burgess of Dumfries; David Makgee notary signing for the granter, at his command.

To Roger Lindsay, granted by Prebendar Taylor for sums paid to him by Lindsay for the repair of the Granter's 10 vestments and of the Collegiate Church.

8. Charter by John Tailzeour, one of the prebendars of "the ladye of Gallovay service," in Lincluden, with consent of the Provost and

prebendars chapterly assembled, in favour of Roger Lindsay, for certain sums of money granted by him for the making and repair of the ornaments and other vestments belonging to the said prebend, and also for the repair of the Collegiate Church, granting to Roger and his heirs male, etc., the lands of the Eastwood of Barscribe, of the Bank of Carborland, of Drummukhed, of the Mains of Suthik and Barmoss, extending annually in the granter's rental to the sum of 52 merks: To hold in feu ferme and heritage of the granter and his successors, prebends of the said prebendary,—for the yearly rent of 52 merks, and 3^{s} 4^{d} in augmentation. Dated at Paris 6th August 1553. Witnesses, Thomas Campbell commendator of Halywod, John Stewart, James Flemyng, William Logan, etc. The chapter signatures are added as before.

To JOHN MAXWELL of The Hills—acknowledgment that he had paid the Grassums beforehand for the reparation, reapparelling, and mending of the Church.

9. Charter by Provost Douglas, with consent of the chapter, in favour of John Maxwell of the Hills, and Katherine Maxwell his wife, the survivor of them, and their heirs, of Blarany and Blakerne—for nineteen years—yearly rent of five merks for each—with 10^{s} of Lammas maill, two dozen of poultry, 40 laids of peats, with multures and other duties contained in Sir George Marshal's Rental; with the acknowledgment of the Provost and chapter, that they had received beforehand from the said John and Katherine "the haill garsums" of the said lands, for the said term of 19 years, toward the "reparatioun reperreling and mending of the said College Kirk of Lincloudane in thak[1] glas ornamentis and otheris necessaris." Sealed with the seal of the Provost, and that of the chapter, at Lincluden 24th April 1556. Witnesses, William Douglas, John Douglas, Sir John Tailzeour, Mungo Douglas, etc. With signatures of the chapter as usual.

[1] The word. "thak," as here employed, does not necessarily mean straw; the covering of a roof with slates being sometimes described in old records as "thatching with slate."

To JOHN MARCELL[1]—of three Roods of the Lands of Corbelly Hill.

10. Charter to John Marcell, of three roods of the lands of Corbyhill, on the east side of the said hill, between the lands of the Friars Minors of Dumfries, presently occupied by William Thomson, William Marcell, Patrick Birkmyre, Robert Haliday, and Isabella Asloane relict of David McQuhirk, on the east, by Richard Maxwell on the south, and the lands of the deceased John Asloane, of Corbyhill, on the west, and certain lands of the Friars, occupied by John Marcell, on the north: extending in yearly rental to 3s, with sixpence of augmentation. At the Church of Lincluden 26th March 1558.

To JOHN LORD MAXWELL, Bailie of the College.

11. Charter to John Lord Maxwell, Bailie of the College, of the teind sheaves of Prestoun toun, parish of Kirkbeane, for 19 years, yearly rent £20. Dated 14th October 1558. Signatures as in preceding charter.

To JOHN BEK and his Spouse.

12. Charter to John Bek and Marjory Cunyngham his spouse, and the survivor of them, and their heirs, of a four acre croft in the barony of Drumsleit, bounded by the croft of Paul Cunyngham and Andrew Cunyngham on the east, the Erisgate on the west, the mill rig on the south, and a certain .... am stretching from the Erisgate to a certain old loch on the north; yearly rental 13s 4d, with sixpence of augmentation. Dated 25th February 1558-9.

To JOHN MAXWELL of the Hills—Rent partly paid in money for repairing the College Church and its ornaments.

13. Charter to John Maxwell of the Hills, and Katherine Maxwell his spouse, and the longer liver of them, and their heirs male, whom

[1] The name Marcell is given here as in the original, but it is probably meant for either Marshall or Maxwell.

failing, to Katherine Maxwell their daugher, spouse of Robert Maxwell of Garrore [Garroch], and her heirs male, of the name of Maxwell, of the five merk land of Chepmantoun: the two parts of the five merk land of Nunland, and a merkland of the Nunwodhead, called Cartells land, with the teind sheaves of the kirk and parsonage of Lochrutton; reserving to the vicar thereof and his successors, their "pension meill" used and wont, —in tack for 19 years,—for a sum of money paid by the said John Maxwell for repairing the said College Kirk and the ornaments thereof. Yearly rent for Chepmantoun £10, of maill and gersum, with multure meal and usual services: For Nunland £4 8s 7d, with multure and service, and every third year £4 8s 10d of gersum; and for Nunwodhead two merks maill gersum, with multures and service. Sealed with the chapter seal, and subscribed 18th March 1558 by the Provost and the following prebendaries:—Sir John Rig, Sir John Baty, Sir John Lauder, Sir Mark Caruthers. Witnesses, Sir James Maxwell, parson of Castlemilk, Sir David Wallace, and Sir David Welshe.

To Edward Maxwell.

14. Charter to Edward Maxwell, brother german of Sir James Maxwell, rector of Castlemilk, of six acres of the lands of Mylhill, with tenement and yard, lying between the high way on the east, lands of the late Robert Roreson on the south, the Graystane Croft, occupied by Andrew Palmar, on the west, and the mill lade of Staikfurd mill on the north. Rent 9s yearly, with eightpence of augmentation. Sealed 3d December 1558. Subscribers, the Provost, Sir Thomas Welsh, Sir Archibald Menzies, Sir John Rig, Sir Mark Carruthers, Sir John Lauder, Sir John Bate, and Sir John Morton, prebendars.

Prebendar Sir John Rig, Custodier of the Common Seal, complains to the Brethren that the Seal has been reft from him by Provost Douglas.

15. Instrument narrating that on the 28th day of March (1558-9) Sir John Rig, preband of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden, compeared

personally in presence of Mr. Robert Douglas, provost of the said college, and the chapter there chapterly assembled, and made the following declaration:—"My lord and brethir, heir I protest that na thyng that ye seill nor subscrive fra this day fourth, may hayf place nor be to na effect wyth owt my subscrypcion be at the samen, and that nexit to the provestis subscripcione, and that becauis I am the eldest prebendar of this place, and ye my lord hais reft the commoun seill fra me vythe out ony triall ordur for hurte and skayth of this place, and by the awise of the brethir bot alenarly at your awin hand." Done in the chapter, at 5 o'clock afternoon of the said day, before these witnesses, Sir John Lauder, Sir John Bate, Sir Thomas Welshe, and John Maxwell of Hills. Sir James Maxwell is notary.

16. Instrument narrating that on 1st April 1559, the said Sir John Rig compeared before a venerable man Mr. Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, and the prebendars sitting in chapter, and declared to the Provost as follows:—"My lord, your lordship hais reft fra me our commoun seill of our place, quhilk I have had in kepyng be consent of the prebendaris of this place the space of twenty yeris; and now desyris of your lordschip ane tryall to be tane before your lordship and the brethir of the cheptour now present, quhairintill I have offendit anentis the suyr keping of the said commoun seill; and in the meyne tyme the said prowest ansuerit, and said, he had na caus; bot said he wald nocht thole the said Sir Johne haif the keping of the said seill: and efter the said Provestis answer, the said Sir Johne protestit that quhat evir was selit with the said seill fra that houre furtht, suld have na place nor sall stand till ony effect force or strenth and that because the said seill was reft and wranguisly tane fra him by [without] the consent of the brethir, without ordoure, and as he allegit in hurt and prejudice of the place:" upon which the said Sir John Rig took instruments in the hands of Sir Mark Caruthers and Sir James Maxwell, notaries. Done in the chapter of the said college at 11 o'clock forenoon, before Mr. Archibald Menzies, Sir John Bryse, vicar of Dumfries, Sir John Lauder, and Sir John Baty, prebendars.

The Prebendars defending their Rights in opposition to the Provost.

17. Minute dated 13th May 1559,—to the effect that the prebendars of Lincluden did on that day determine that no charter of feu-ferme, precept, assedation, or other evidents of the lands, tenements, fishings, mill or others pertaining to the provostry of Lincluden, and especially in the baronies of Drumslete and Corsmychell, or of the lands of any vicarage pertaining to the said provostry, shall be sealed with the common seal of the said chapter, and subscribed, to any person whatever, unless the Provost and all and each of the prebendars of Lincluden dwelling in the kingdom of Scotland are assembled together in chapter, and their consent and assent had to the premises, and notifying to all whom it might concern that all and sundry the premises would be inviolably observed by the prebendars, under the pain of perjury. Subscribed by Sir John Rig, prebendar, Sir John Lauder, Sir Mark Caruthers, Sir John Baty, Mr. Archibald Menzies, prebendars.

[This document is crossed with the pen as if cancelled.]

18. [This is a duplicate of the preceding, except that the signatures are increased by those of Sir John Mortoun and David Gibson, prebendars.]

To John Adamson, in consideration of Sums advanced by him to pay Taxation levied on the College.

19. Charter by Provost Dowglas, with consent of the prebendars, in favour of their lovite servitor, John Adamson, in consideration of certain sums of money paid by him to them for their relief of the taxation of the kingdom, setting to him the 10s lands of Maryholme. Yearly rent 26s 8d, with sixteenpence in augmentation. Sealed 12th August 1559. Signed by Sir John Rig, Sir John Lauder, Archibald Menzies, Sir John Baty, and Sir John Morton.

To a College Servitor and his Spouse.

20. Charter to Paul Cuningham, their servitor, and Marion Cuningham, his spouse, and their heirs, 10^{s} worth of the lands of Maryholm, in same terms as in the preceding charter, and of same date.

To Gilbert Herries of Lands contiguous to the College Herbarium.

21. Charter to Gilbert Hereis in Barnyhill, of three acres of the mains of Lincluden, lying within the Peis croft towards the herbarium of the college, and contiguous to the highway leading past the herbarium towards the town of the Bridge end of Dumfries, on the east; in the middle, the Peis croft and other lands of the mains, on the west; which lands formerly belonged to John Thomson in Terregles, and were resigned by him in favour of the said Gilbert: To hold, together with the pasture of one horse within the bounds of the Grange of Lincluden, to the said Gilbert and his heirs. Yearly rent 10^{s}: reserving the homage and service of the said Gilbert and his heirs, when required, and doubling the rental in the first year of the entry of each heir. Dated and subscribed as usual. October 1559.

To Adam Haliday.

22. Charter to Adam Haliday of 22 pennyworths of the lands of Staikefurd, of old extent, formerly belonging to the late David M^{c}Quhirk. Yearly rent 5^{s} 6^{d}. Dated 9th September 1559. Witnesses, Sir Thomas Welshe, Sir John Morton, and William Edgar.

To Hugh Douglas of Dalvene, in consideration of Money paid by him for War Taxes due by the Provostry.

23. Charter to Hugh Dowglas of Dalwene, in consideration of £2000 paid by him, for relief of the provostry from the burdens imposed by

taxation for defence of the country in the present war against the old enemies, or other invaders, granting to the said Hugh the merk lands of Fuffok, Ernalmery, Lochindolye, Largneane, Ernfillane, Culgruffe, Troddale, Ards, Mollance, Hillinton, Clarebrand, Crofts, and Glengoppok. Yearly rent 144 merks 5ˢ. 7ᵈ., at the usual terms, by equal portions, and £4 2ˢ. 6ᵈ. at the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula:* 180 poultry, 280 creels of peats, 20 laids of peat, 12 capons, 14 bolls oat meal, with the usual services, and five merks in augmentation of rental. Sealed and subscribed as usual 7th October 1559. Witnesses, Sir James Brice, vicar of Dumfries; Sir James Maxwell, rector of Castlemilk; David Welshe, vicar of Drumgrey; John Sinclair, William Edger, and David Wallace, chaplains.

To the Same, of the College Salmon Fishery.

24. Charter to the same, of the salmon fishing in the Nyth, belonging to the said provostry. Yearly rent £6 13ˢ. 4ᵈ. with 6ˢ. 8ᵈ. in augmentation of rental. Same date and witnesses as before.

To John Maxwell of Conhuith.

27. Charter to John Maxwell of Conhayth, grandson and heir of Robert Maxwell of Conhayth, of seven acres of land in Cargane. Yearly rent eighteenpence, with multure, homage, and service, and sixpence of augmentation. Dated 13th September 1559.

To John Lord Maxwell, of the Office of College Bailie.

26. Charter to John Lord Maxwell, son of the late Robert Lord Maxwell, of the office of bailie of the lands, etc., belonging to the said collegiate church, within the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and elsewhere in Scotland, with the lands of Nunbellie and Fallorane, in fee and heritage, as for salary for his labours: To hold of the granters, for the yearly payment of one penny of silver. Sealed as usual. Date incomplete, 155 . Subscribed by Sir John Rig and Sir Mark Carruthers, prebendars.

To a Dumfries Provost.

27. Charter to John McBrair of Almygill [Provost of Dumfries in 1552] of the lands of Drumganes, and seven acres of the lands of Conhayth. Yearly rent 12 merks. Sealed 15th March 1558-9. Witnesses, Sir William Edgar, chaplain, John McCleewy, Martin Edgar, John Edgar, and Herbert Cuningham, burgesses of Dumfries.

By the Vicar of Carlaverock to William Maxwell, in consideration of Sums paid by him for defending the Ecclesiastical Estate.

28. Charter by John [torn out], vicar of the parish church of Carlaverok, with consent of the Provost of Lincluden, in favour of William Maxwell, for certain sums of money paid by him for defence of the ecclesiastical estate in Scotland, of three mercates of land in Carlaverok, holding of the granter. Yearly rent three pounds, and 6s 8d in augmentation. Sealed with seal of the granter, also that of the Provost of Lincluden, with the common chapter seal, and subscribed by the Provost and prebendars at Lincluden 15th December 1559.

To John Maxwell.

29. Charter in favour of John Maxwell, son of the deceased Charles Maxwell, of the half croft called the Pear tree croft. Yearly rent 30 pence. Sealed 23d December 1559.

To a Dumfries Burgess.

30. Charter to John Rig, burgess of Dumfries, of the lands of Mekle Dryburgh. Yearly rent £12, and 6s 8d in augmentation, with three bolls of meal. Sealed 15th April 1559.

Tack of Teind Sheaves to Sir John Maxwell of Terregles.

31. Tack to John Maxwell of Terregles, knight, of the teind sheaves

of Terregles, for 19 years, for 10 merks of yearly rent. Sealed by the Provost and chapter 27th January 1559-60.

Tack to one of the College Chaplains.

32. Tack to Sir John Brice, chaplain, of the roods of land, lying on the —— billhyl, between the lands of the Friars of Dumfries occupied by Richard Maxwell and the relict of John Birkmyre, on the [west] and north parts, and the common street on the south and [east] parts: for 19 years. Yearly rent 3s. Dated 17th February 1559-60.

Charter to JOHN McMORAN.

33. Charter to John McMoran in Lochruton, of the third part of Nunlands, marching with Terrauchty on the east, Hills and Kirklands of the vicarage of Lochruton on the south, and the other lands of Hills called Lochfoot on the [north], for payment of £3 6s, eight capons, mill multures, and other services yearly, and twelvepence of augmentation. Sealed 26th February 1559-60.

To MUNGO CUNINGHAM and his Spouse.

34. Charter to Mungo Cuningham and Marion Gordon, his spouse, in conjunct fee of the 35s land of the Newton of Nunwood. Yearly rent £5 1s 2d, with multures, etc., and carrying the corn grown on the said lands to the mill of Staikfurd. Sealed 30th March 1560.

To JOHN ROB.

35. Charter to John Rob in Cluny of the third part of a mercate of the lands of Cluny and Skillingholme. Yearly rent 12s 4d: and three firlots of meal as dry multure to the mill of Terrauchty, with eightpence of augmentation. Sealed 28th March 1560.

Sasine for Infefting Isabella Philp in Lands at the Town of Bridgend of Dumfries.

36. Precept of Sasine for infefting Isabella Philp as heir to the deceased Stephen Philp, her father, of certain portions of land at the town of Brigend of Dumfries, between the mill lade of Staikfurde and the water of Nyth on the north, and the hewch or clewch going down from the gate of the late James Fell towards the water of Nyth on the south: The precept is addressed to James Kellok. Sealed 8th March 1560-1.

[A charter accompanies the sasine granting the lands to Isabella Philp and her husband David Makgee. Yearly rent 3s.]

To James Maxwell of Auchencarne and his Spouse.

37. Charter to James Maxwell of Auchencarne and Janet Asloand his spouse, of Newton of Nunwod, formerly occupied by the late William Scot, and last belonging to Mungo Cuningham and Marion Gordon his wife, and resigned by them: To hold on the same terms. Sealed 26th April 1561.

To James Makkeppel, of Lands partly bounded by Auld Clouden Burn.

38. Charter to James Makkeppel, Staikfurde, of the half of the 15s land of Staikfurde, which he had from the granter's predecessors in tack,—bounded by the water of Nyth on the east, the mill lade of Staikfurde on the south and west, between the foresaid lands of Staikfurde and the lands of Crunstans running on the south and west parts, and the burn of Maryholme, otherwise called Auld Clouden, running between the said lands of Staikfurd and the mains of Lincluden on the north. Yearly payment 20s, with sixteenpence of augmentation. Sealed 29th April 1561.

Tack to James Murray.

39. Tack to James Murray in Erne Almery of Troddell, with the fishing; Erne Almery, Ernefillane; extending in whole to a ten merk land of old extent, for 19 years. Yearly rent five merks for Troddell, and 10^{s} at Lammas; and two bolls of meal for the multures; and every three years £10 of gersum; and for Erne Almery 2½ merks at the usual terms, and 5^{s} at Lammas; with one boll of meal for multure; 12 poultry, 10 creels of peats, and every three years £5 of gersum; And for Ernefillane 2½ merks, 5^{s} at Lammas, one boll of meal multure, etc., as for Ernealmery. Sealed 2^{d} August 1561.

Charters to Thomas Pane.

40. Charter to Thomas Pane, of the half of the five merk land of Troquier. Yearly rent 18^{s}, with 16 pence of augmentation. Sealed 30th August 1561.

41. A second charter to the same of the croft called Fowlemyre, or Bell's Close, with meadow thereof, between the lands of Corbryhill on the north and east, the common way leading to the bridge of Cargane on the south, the lands of Calsalands in the hands of David Magee, and lands of William Howate on the west, all which lands belonged to the late Sir Gilbert Beck, brother-in-law of Thomas Payne. Yearly rent 5^{s}. Sealed 30th August 1561.

To James Cunynghame, of Lands partly bounded by the College Gardens.

42. Charter to James Cunynghame, dwelling in the mains of Lincluden, and Catherine Kennedy his spouse, in liferent, and John Cunynghame their son and his heirs, of a croft of land on the west of the highway, between the mains on the south, croft of John Bek on the west, and lands of Gilbert Heries on the north, and the said highway on the east; also certain lands eastward from said croft, between the croft of the late Stephen Bek, now in the hands of John Newlands, on the south, the highway on the west, the gardens or orchyards, extending in all to six

acres, with houses, etc., as formerly occupied by the deceased Paul Cunynghame, father of the said James, with pasturage of eight soumes of cattle in the pasture within the messuage or grange of Lincluden. Yearly rent 20^{s}, and twelvepence of augmentation, with duplicand on the entry of the heirs of the said John Cunynghame. Sealed 4th August 1562.

To Sir WILLIAM EDGAR, Chaplain, Lincluden termed a Regality.

43. Charter in favour of Sir William Edgar of three acres of the meadow lands of Cluny: Two of which bounded thus:—"Begynand at the Hallmyr liand inlang the watter of Cargane to the cauld well" on the north and east, and by the other part of the said meadow on the west and south; and the third acre lying in the south land of the said meadow called Carlelis Daywork, having the lands of Archibald Hereis on the south, and the other part of the said meadow on the north, west, and east: Also all and whole the lands called Charterland, bounding with the Kirklands of Terregles on the west, lands of Terregles on the north and east, and the water of Cargane and lands of Archibald Hereis on the south. Yearly rent 27^{s} for the three acres, and 13^{s} 4^{d} for the Charterlands. [The charter narrates that the said Sir William Edgar paid to the granters £60, of which they acknowledge receipt.] Sealed at Lincluden—date illegible.

Notwithstanding the premises the said Sir William Edgar compeared before a notary and witnesses, and became bound not to call the prebendars of Lincluden before any judge, spiritual or temporal, in regard to a sum of £60 contained in the foresaid charter, because they had not intromitted therewith: and therefore the clause concerning the said money was declared to be null and void. This was done previous to the sealing and subscribing of the said charter, in the chapter house of Lincluden, before these witnesses: Andrew Edgar, John Moreson, and others, on 18th April 1564, the notary being David M^{c}Gee. The subscriptions are, Mr. Robert Douglas, provost; Mark Caruthers, Sir John Rig, . . . Lauder, Sir John Baty, Sir John Morton, Mr. Archibald Menzies, prebendars.

A tack dated 29th March 1558-9 follows the charter, the terms being for 19 years, at an annual rent of 27s.

To James Maxwell.

44. Charter to James Maxwell in Troqueir, in liferent, and James Maxwell, his grandson, and his heirs, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ mercates of the lands of Troqueir. Yearly rent £6 10s 8d. Sealed 19th October 1563.

To a Dumfries Burgess.

45. Charter to John Shortrig, burgess of Dumfries, of the 10s lands of Mareholme, on resignation by John Adamson. Yearly payment 28s, with duplicand on the entry of each heir. Sealed with the chapter seal, and that of the Provost at Drumlangrig [the house of the Provost's father], 13th November 1560. Witnesses, John Douglas, John Grierson, William Hunter, Sir John Tailzour, rector of Cummertreis, and Herbert Anderson, notary.

To John Johnston in Nunholme, the Nith Fishings reserved.

46. Charter to John Johnston[1] in Nunholme, and Cristina Mak-Kennand his wife, in conjunct fee, and their heirs, of four mercates of the lands of Nunholme; reserving the fishings on the Nith. Sealed 25th January 1564-5, and subscribed by the Provost, Mark Carruthers, Sir John Baty, Sir John Lauder, Mr. Archibald Menzies, John Mortoun, and Sir John Rig, prebendars.

The written volume from which we have quoted so extensively closes in these terms:—

"This Buik contenis threscoir and sewyn leiffis. A leif unwrittin in the begynning and . . . leiffis unwrittin in the ending of this buik."

[1] John Johnston, son of Edward Johnston, a Dumfries burgess, acquired the dues payable at Devorgilla's Bridge when the Minorite Friars of Dumfries, to whom they belonged, feued out their possessions in 1557 on the eve of the Reformation.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLLEGE.

Connection of Sir John Maxwell with the College—Provost Douglas makes an arrangement for disposing of its principal mansion—The scheme opposed by the Prebendars as being at variance with their vested rights—Provision made for Douglas at the suppression of the College—He takes part with his patron, Lord Herries, in a plot for reinstating Mary Stuart as Queen—Issue of the case against him and the Nithsdale chief—The Act of Annexation, and its effect upon the Lincluden endowments.

A CRITICAL stage in the fortunes of the College had now arrived. It was not to be expected by any of its inmates, however sanguine, that the statute of 1560, which operated destructively on other religious houses, would leave theirs unharmed. Provost Douglas, clearly perceiving that "the beginning of the end" had been reached, resolved to safeguard as far as possible his own selfish interests, even though the security obtained for himself should be at the expense of the prebendars and bedesmen. For this purpose he persuaded the brethren to sign away to him large slices of the Lincluden patrimony, under a promise on his part to look after their worldly concerns; and he then entered into an arrangement with Sir John Maxwell, according to which, if we understand the matter properly, the young knight of Terregles was to get the Provost's Lodging as a residence, and other good

things belonging to the community, which Douglas had no right to dispose of without their consent. When the brethren came to know how they had been treated by their superior, they held what in modern times is called an indignation meeting, at which they resolved to remonstrate against his aggressions, and invoke the law, if necessary, for the defence of their rights. The connection of Sir John Maxwell with Lincluden, as thus brought about, is worthy of special notice, owing to the celebrity he soon afterwards acquired when acting as the gallant champion of Queen Mary. He acquired the Terregles estates by his marriage with Agnes Lady Herries, at whose death he also assumed the patrician title which, when worn by him, acquired a lustre unknown to it before.

As previously indicated, the College Register Book reveals the transactions entered into between him and the Provost; and it also furnishes details of the course taken by the Lincluden community to get them set aside. What the brethren thought of the manifold attacks directed against the establishment is shown by the document we are about to quote. It is their written answer to a written statement that had previously been submitted to them on the subject by Provost Douglas. Some words are missing at the beginning, the opening fragment being "The Proveist desyris all in few and the prebendaris. . . ." Otherwise the declaration of the subscribing parties is very nearly entire.

"We prebendaris and chaiplanis," they say, "of Lincloudone wnderwrittin beand . . . adwisit be the maist cunnyng and wys men and freyndis that culd be had . . . vthir places rycht humyllie geiffis our ansuer eftir the sobir wit and . . . God hes giffin vs in absens of our tua brethir beand greitlye moir . . . nor our sempill wnderstanding is To yow my lord provest of Lyncloudone . . . and desyre of the rycht noble and honorable Johne Maxwell of Terreglis knycht . . . lie your wisdomis to stand

content to heir our ressonable respons vpon the . . . petitionis eftirfollowand, etc.

"Inprimis geif it mycht stand with your lordschipis plesour to remembir that your lordschip and we prebendaris . . . writtin convenit in our cheptour of Linclouden the first tyme of your cummyng to [rule over us] and thair your lordschip and we the haly ewangeliis twechit gaif our bodely aithis your lordschip to ws and we to yow to defend the libertye and common weltht of our place and [mains] of Lynclouden at all our guidlie powar and that we suld nocht seill and subscryve till ony persone ony chartour lang takkis or ewident to the hurt of the common weltht of the said place provest prebendaris and successouris of the samyn.

"Secundlie quhair your lordschip desyris ws prebendaris wnderwrittin to seill and subscryve a chartour and precept of few of the principall mansioun place and manis of Lynclouden with the yairdis orchartis and Kirkhill of the samyn My lord geif it mycht stand with your lordschipis plesour we all in ane voce thinkis your lordschipis petitione and desyre wnressonable and nocht to be grantit becaus it war ane owr crewell audacitie till ws that ar subjectis to our provest to consent seill or subscryve ane chartour of few till ony gentillmen of the principall mansioun and place manis yairdis and pertinentis thairof expelland thairthrow yow our provest, that suld mak daily residence with ws, in his principall place and mansioun, quha suld se the service of God daylie dwne And als it war ane ressonable caus to the Prince of this realme beand principall patroun and donatour of bayth provestrye and prebendaris nocht allanerlie to depryve ws of our stallis and prebendariis bat als to punis ws to be example till vtheris offendouris in sic caissis.

"Thridlie quhair your lordschip desyris ws to seill and subscryve ane chartour of the thre millis as contenit in the samyn

Inlowand ane merk of siluer for ilk boll of meill of the mesour of Nyth My lord answerand thairto we think it may nocht stand with guid fayth and conscience to altir the wittalis quhilkis ar ordanit be the fundaris of this place to be deliverit to the puir beidmen ffor thair sustentatioun and makis na augmentatioun bot diminisis the samyn.

"Fferdlie Anentis the chartour of few desyrit be your lordschip of the landis of Nunwod Corrowchane Blakpark and Hillintoun to seill and subscryve thaj landis My lord it is [forbidden ?] bayth by Goddis law and mannis to sett takkis or to few ony mannis kyndlie stedyng or landis of thaim quhilkis hais bene in possessioun sum xl sum l yeris and vtheris past memor of man till ony vthir gentill man quha nevir had kyndnes thairto nor gudwill or favouris of the possessouris thairof quhilk and we grantit thairto it suld be ane deidlie feid to ws be the inhabitouris thairof quhill we leiffit by Goddis caus and brekyng of our bodely aithis.

"[Fyftlie] Anentis certane clausis in the hyndmast part of your chartouris makand mentioun in the . . . we haif ressavit thre thousand merkis and fyve hundretht pundis fra Hew [Douglas] of Dalwene byndand and oblissand ws prebendaris geif we cum or be hard . . . contrair for the reductioun of the infeftiment of all and syndry the saidis landis place mansioun manis myllis and stedingis with thair pertinentis contenit in the said lettres that we . . . refound and paye to the said Hew his airis and assignais the saidis sowmes abonewrittin agane, quhilkis we nevir ressavit till our utyr distructioun, quhilk war inpossible till ws and all our freindis to pay Heirfor my lord we think thaj claussis unressonable that thaj thingis done unlauchfullie may nocht lauchfullie be reducit or hard in jugement but sik inconvenience to the reducer of it unlauchfullie done.

"And concludane thir premissis under protestatioun My lord ye promist to sum of vs prebendaris affoir we subscrivit your fewis

of the Greynlaw and syndry vthiris landis and stedingis of Corsmychell and fisching of the collage pwle that geif the provestry of Lynclouden and landis of the samyn war nocht put in temporall mennis handis be the Prince and magistratis of this realm bot at it stude undisponit apon conforme to the fundatioun in that cais your lordschip eftir lauchfull warnyng thairto suld produce all and syndry chartouris preceptis sesingis confirmationis and all vthiris evidentis ye obtenit and gat thairof of all and syndry the saidis landis of Corsmychell and fisching of the collage with thair pertinentis and deliver the samyn till vs prebendaris of the said collage to be rescindit expirit and annullit and of thir premisses we maid ane obligatioun to be subscryvit and selit be your lordschip the quhilk to do ye haif refusit and refus as yit Quhairfor My lord considerand your lordschip hes nocht selit and subscrivit the said obligatioun to vs conform to your lordschipis promis nor hais as yit geiffin vs ony guid deid or thankis for our consent till your lordschipis desyris, we haif the les plesour to hurt our conscience for your unlefull desyris, bot sayis with the propheit '*Emendemus in melius quia ignoranter peccauimus.*'

"And finallie quhair your lordschip desyris our utyr answer of your lordschipis petitionis we all concludan in ane voce finallie determis nevir to seill nor subscryve the said fewis becaus of thir our ressonable articlis maid and send to vs be the maist wys and cunning men of law beand riply consultit and advisit in thir premissis quha kennis best the perellus danger that may cum apon vs be the Quenis Majestie beand now our patroun by Goddis wrayth and indignatioun in breking of our bodely aithis maid for the commone weltht of our place and als the feid of the auld tenentis of the landis abonewrittin; besekand your lordschip that we be nocht fardar requirit for the fulfilling of thir premissis.

"Dominus Johannes Rig prebendarius ad premissa manu propria Dominus Marcus Carrutheris prebendarius ad premissa

manu propria Dominus Johannes Baty prebendarius ad premissa manu propria Magister Archibaldus Menzeis prebendarius ad premissa manu propria Dominus Johannes Mortoun prebendarius ad premissa manu propria Dominus Johannes Lauder prebendarius ad premissa manu propria David Gibsone prebendarius manu sua."

To a large extent the schemes of Provost Douglas were carried into effect, though, as we shall see, they were afterwards greatly modified by the Crown and Parliament. Assuming that Sir John Maxwell occupied the College, he would scarcely do so for a lengthened period. On becoming Lord Herries, if not before that event, he made Terregles Tower his chief place of residence; and at the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the Provost's Lodging in the occupancy of William Douglas of Pinzerie, feuar of Lincluden by right of his father the laird of Bateford. Meanwhile the titular Provost took up his abode at Greenlaw, a mansion that had belonged to the College, making it his future home, but spending much of his time in Edinburgh on obtaining, with his habitual good luck, a snug appointment as depute collector-general of that share of the sequestrated benefices that fell to the lot of the Crown. It was in the memorable year 1568 that the forces of Queen Mary were defeated at Langside, and Lord Herries, conveying his unfortunate Sovereign from the disastrous field, took her to Terregles—he having, we presume, vacated his Lincluden mansion a short period before the battle. Coeval with it, or some little time prior to its occurrence, all the brethren had bidden their dearly-loved College home a last adieu. The closing charter recorded in the Rental Book bears date 26th January 1564-65; it may possibly have been the final document of that kind to which their seals as a chapter were attached. Their own doom was sealed by the statute of 17th August 1560; and though in the teeth of its provisions they

continued the old religious service for several years afterwards, the certainty is that by the time the Queen's fortunes had become desperate, and the Reformation had been ratified by Parliament in 1567, the brotherhood had ceased to exist as a corporate body, and a silence like that of death had settled down upon their hallowed fabric.

The same fate overtook them that befell the Benedictine sisters whom they succeeded, with this difference, however, that the prebendars, unlike the Abbess and nuns, were fairly well provided for in the end. Even as "that venerable man," Provost Robert Douglas, manifested an extreme regard, not to say veneration, for his own dear self when dealing with the goods of the community, so, by rendering a courtier-like homage to the rising sun of the Reformation times, Regent Murray, and yet retaining the favour of the Maxwell family, he managed to acquire a handsome share of the College spoils and to keep it for life, notwithstanding all the changes in ownership to which the patrimony was subjected. From "the Queen's third" Mary assigned Douglas an annual pension of £200 Scots for his services in collecting it; and the office and the pay were enjoyed by him during several years of the succeeding reign. Yet in 1570 we find Douglas, "canny" and prudent though he usually was, engaged with his patron Lord Herries in a conspiracy formed by Arran, Duke of Chalterhault, Maitland of Lethington, and others, for the recall of the expatriated Queen. With the view of giving a colour of legality to their proceedings, Arran summoned a meeting of the Estates in her name; but it was so poorly attended that the movement quietly collapsed. The chiefs of the plot were proceeded against by the Government in the following year. When summoned to appear before the Privy Council they made no response.

As against Douglas the charge was, that in the preceding months of August and September he, together with "James

sumtyme Duke of Chatellarault, Johnne sumtyme Commendator of Aberbrothok, Claude Hamiltoun, his sonnis George sumtyme Erll of Huntly, William Maitland of Lethington younger, and utheris," had been forfeited and proclaimed a traitor against "our Soveraine Lord and hes authoritie," and certifying that if he failed to present himself "letters should be direct to put him to the horne;" that though often called "the same Maister Robert not compearand, my Lord Regentis Grace with the avise of the Lordis of Secreit Counsall ordains letters to be direct to the officer of armes, Schereffis in that part, chargeing them to pass and denunce the said Maister Robert our Soveraine Lordis rebell and put him to the horne; and to eschet and inbring all hes movabill gudis to his Majesteis use, for his contemption, after the form and tenour of the said letteris."

Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, and the holder of a Government appointment, subjected to confiscation as a traitor! If the position he occupied seems anomalous for him, the sentiment which betrayed him into it relieves him from the imputation of having been through life a sordid time-server. He exposed himself to deadly peril by his chivalrous devotedness to Queen Mary, besides laying himself open to the charge of base ingratitude to the ruling powers; but the storm he had provoked blew by, leaving him unharmed. Both he and the Nithsdale chief had friends at Court, by whose influence the ruinous judgment of the Council was rendered null; and successful means were taken to transform Herries from being an enemy of the Government into a friend. When the gallant champion of the exiled Queen found at last that her cause was beyond the possibility of redemption, he submitted to the new order of things, and embraced Protestantism; in which faith he died twelve years after the date of the Arran conspiracy and four years prior to the execution of the Queen.[1]

[1] Calderwood, Appendix to octavo edition, vol. viii. p. 232.

Returning for a little to Provost Douglas, we find, from a royal warrant preserved in the records of the Dumfries Sheriff-court, that he was at times somewhat tardy in settling his official accounts. The following memorandum appears on the back of the warrant written by the messenger entrusted with its execution :—

Copy of Taxt of Lincluden, 21st of October 1578.

Cherge Maister Robert Dowglas, provost of Lynclowden and taxman of Glencarne To mak payment to the Collector Generall within written (that was to say Johne, Commendator of Cambuskenneth), & his officeris for the superplus of the kirk of Glencarne ilk yeir the yeiris within written of £177 : 13 : 4, & for the unplacit Reidars Stipend at Glencarne the saidis yeiris ilk yeir £20. And for the haill third of the Meill of the Provostrie of Linclowden ilk yeir the saidis yeiris within written 7 chalders Meill, & for the superplus of the money of the third of the said Provostrie the saidis yeir ilk yeir £8 : 6 : 8d, and sicklyke for the unplacit Ministeris stipend at the Kirk of Carlaverok ilk yeir the saidis yeiris £53 : 6 : 8d, & for the haill of the twa prebendaries of Linclowden the yeir 1581, the sum of £40 within 10 days nixt eftir this charge undir the pane of horning.

JOHNE SCHERAR, *Messenger.*

A more serious accusation than lack of business punctuality was brought against Robert Douglas on the 3d of September 1588. During an unfortunate affray which occurred in the autumn of the preceding year Sir Robert Maxwell of Dinwiddie was mortally wounded, and Douglas, suspected of having been "airt and pairt" concerned in the crime, was charged to that effect before the same Court that had tried him for treason in 1571. Failing to "compear," Robert Lord Sanquhar "became pledge and securitie that the accused would surrender on the third day of the next Justice-air at Dumfries," or sooner if called upon, "to underly the law." The case against Douglas seems to have been departed from. At the date of the slaughter he must

have been at least threescore years and ten, and it is difficult to believe that he took any part in it, more especially as in 1587-88 he, besides being a tax-collector, was employed as an auditor of the Lord Treasurer's accounts. The picture of the venerable Provost of Lincluden laying aside his business pen to engage in a sanguinary broil seems to us incredible even when we bear in mind how, seventeen years before, he stepped out of his prosaic habitude to engage in a romantic and perilous enterprise for the restoration of Queen Mary.

Strictly speaking, a person of his position had no claim beyond that of courtesy to be called a lord; neither had an abbot, though he might be addressed as "My Lord," or described as "Dominus Abbas," and might occasionally use for signature the name of his house, just as if he had been a temporal baron. We have seen how Robert Douglas was termed Lord Provost by his prebendars, and that most of them signed their remonstrance to him with the prefix "dominus," or lord. On other occasions they generally used the equivalent prefix of "Sir." In attesting the Treasury accounts Douglas invariably took the name of the College for his signature, as in the subjoined facsimile.

When the prebendars were dispersed they continued to receive the whole or greater portion of their stipends, and at their death the liferents fell to the Crown. In February 1604 John Makgie, one of the brethren, and also Commissary Clerk of Dumfries, obtained a charge of horning against the tenant and feuar of Lincluden for the purpose of obtaining payment of his prebendal dues. On the 6th of April following King James bestowed on Umphra

Dowie, son of James Dowie, writer in Edinburgh, the liferent of another stall that had been held by Sir John Lauder, deceased. The Inventory of the Herries and Maxwell Muniments, from which these details are taken, supplies others of a similar nature, which show that the sons of the fortunate lawyer just named acquired by royal gift no fewer than five out of the eight prebends[1] of Lincluden: William obtained, on the 3d of May 1605, the prebend held by the deceased Archibald Menzies; John, under a Privy Seal order dated the 7th of January 1611, received one formerly in the possession of his brother James; while the stall called "Sir John Mortone's prebendary" fell to the lot of George Dowie, but before he could enjoy its "house-rent and profit" he had to take legal proceedings, on the 10th of November 1615, against William Douglas of Drumlanrig, Provost of the College.

The secularising process begun by Douglas at Lincluden was completed by the Annexation Act passed on the 29th of July 1587. Its preamble sets forth that "Our Soveraine Lord and his three Estaites of Parliament, perfitely understanding the greatest part of his proper rent to have been given and disponed of auld, to Abbaies, Monasteries, and utheris persons and Clergie; quhairby the Croun hes bene sa greatlie hurt, that there-after his maist noble Progenitours had nocht sufficient meanes to beare foorth the honour of their Estaite, as they had before, quhilk hes bredde sindrie inconvenientes within this Realme. And seeing the causes of the dissolution of the patrimonie of the Croun to the Kirk, after the trueth knawin, ar found nether necessar nor profitable: and that be mony occasiones, through a lang processe of time, the derth hes sa greatlie increased, not only in this Realme, bot in all Cuntries, that the Prince's charges ar not able to be up-

[1] In the Inventory quoted from "prebend" and "prebendary" or prebendar are used as if they were equivalent terms; sometimes the man is styled the prebendary and the office the prebend, and just as often *vice versâ*.

holden be that part of the patrimonie quhilk now restis in his handes: And his Hienes for the great love and favour quhilk he bearis to his subjectes; being na waies minded to greeve them with unprofitable taxations, specially for his royall support It is founde maist meete and expedient that he sall have recourse to his awin patrimonie disponed of before (the cause of the disposition now ceasing) as ane help maist honorable in respect of himselfe, and least grievous to his people and subjects."

Thus the Government of the day laid it down as a principle that the Church endowments constituted part of the Crown rents, and might lawfully be recalled for the King's use now that the body to which they were disponed had ceased to exist as a national institution. Following upon enacting clauses to that effect, provision is thus made for exceptional cases: "Our Soveraine Lorde, according to the libertie and priviledge saved to himselfe sitting in judgement in plaine Parliament, hes excepted foorth of the said general annexation the Temporalities of the Abbacies of Coldinghame and Kelso, and Celle of Lesmahago: Declaring them as yit to remaine with the saidis Abbaies and Celle, in the samin estaite, quhairin they then were. And that they were not comprehended in the annexation foresaid; Bot to remaine with them quhil furder ordour be taken. And hes declared that it sall be lauchful to his Hienesse to use the superioritie and few-fermes of the landes of Lethame, lyand within the Schireffe-dome of Fiffe; being a parte of the Patrimonie of the Bishopprick of Saint Andrewes; all and sindrie the landes and utheris, after specified, quhilkis are ane part of the Patrimonie of Lincluden." Of the subjects thus excepted a list is given, which comprises "Little Dryburgh, Drumjarg, Ernphillane, Ernecrago, Blaronie, Meikle Dryburgh, Chapmantoun, Blackerne, Ernminzie, Culnotrie, the Corne Milne of Cors-Michael, Garrantoun, Blackparke, Staikfurde, New-toun, Clunie, Skellingholme, Carrauchtie

(Terrauchtie), Drumganis, Troqueir, Stocholme, None-land, Cruis-stanes, Holme, Marieholme, and None-holme."

Further, it is enacted that "gif it sall happen Our said Soveraine Lord to dispone ony of the landes, milnes, and fischinges of the said Provestrie quhilks are comprehended in the said annexation; Or quhilks ar now excepted and reserved, as said is, and sal be hereafter dimitted in his Hienesse handes, be the Provest and Prebendars theirof; That gif his Hienesse converted the fermes or victual in silver; The same sall be no diminution of the rentall, or cause of reduction of the saidis infeftments, to be maid therof. And als hes declared, and declaris, that it sall be lauchful notwithstanding the said annexation appoynted to take effect in maner foresaid at the Feast of Martine-mes, nixt to cum; That Maister Robert Douglas, Provest of Lincluden, and [William] Douglas, sonne to the Laird of Drumlang-rig, his successour, sall bruik [enjoy] the fruites, profites, and dewties of the said Provestrie, during their life-times, in the same maner as they did before. And alswa ratifies and appreevis the provision maid to [William] Douglas, sonne to the Laird of Drum-langrig, of the Provestrie of Lincluden, And that the act of satisfaction sal be extended in his favour, declaring the same provision to be sufficient for bruiking and joysing of the said Provestrie, and haill profites thereof: Notwithstanding quhatsumever Actes, constitutiones, or lawes, civil or municipall, maid in the contrair dispensand therewith, and effect theirof."[1]

So much for the first stages in the process of distributing the College lands; but the patrimony, as is shown in the following chapter, was subjected to many other changes before being finally disposed of.

[1] The extracts are taken from a very rare folio containing the principal Acts passed in the Parliaments held from 1420 till 1672, "imprented at Edinburgh be Robert Walde-grave, prenter to the Kinges Majestie, 15 Martii, Anno Dom. 1597."

CHAPTER XI.

THE COLLEGE.

Memoranda of the College Lands—William Douglas of Pinzerie marries Agnes, sister of the ninth Lord Maxwell—Temporality of the College made over to him—Downward career of Pinzerie—He is charged with murder, treason, and other crimes—His trial and its results—Subsequent allocation of the Lincluden endowments—Further disposal of the patrimony by Parliament—Connection of the Drumlanrig Douglases with the College—A portion of its lands conveyed to the first Earl of Nithsdale—Report of State Commissioners on the planting of churches in Terregles and elsewhere.

TWENTY-SIX subjects were comprised in the list of the College lands provisionally reserved by the King. Other fifteen still required to be dealt with, and the mode in which this was done, together with the further allocation of the whole endowments, is described in a legal document[1] drawn up six years after the Annexation Act was passed. This deed is entitled, "The estait of all the temporal landis, milnis, and fischings pertaining to the benefice of the Provestrie of Lincluden: how they have been disponit in few-ferme and utherwayis, and in quhat cais they stand at the dait heirof." The high importance attached to it is thus specified: "To be keipit for ane perpetuall memorial and informatioun concerning all doutis that may arryse anent the landis, milnis, and fischingis foirsaidis."

[1] Preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh.

The name of Hew Douglas of Dalvene is introduced to us for the first time in the opening clause of the document as a Lincluden feuar occupying Fuffok, Ernealmarie, Auchindole, Largmurane, Ernefillane, Culgruff, Cordell, Airdis, Mollance, Hillinton, Clariebrand, Croftis, Glengopok, the Nith salmon fishings, and the Maynis of Grenelaw, "with the kayne, peitis, and bondaywarkis of the baronie of Corsmichael." Hew Douglas had been infefted in these properties "be Sir Robert Dowglas, Provest of Lincluden, with consent of his chaptour;" the infeftment receiving due confirmation from "Marie, Queine of Scottis, mother to our soverane lord King James the Sext, under this gryt seal." But it is further stated that the said Hew acquired no proprietary rights thereby. He was just a tenant with a temporary tenure, holding the lands "that they micht be resignit and disponit agane to the Provest as ane particular persone, or quhatsumevir uther he lykit." The lands having been so resigned, Provost Douglas hands them over as a perpetual heritage to "Johne Johnestoun, wretter to the signett, and ane of the clerkis of the counsall as ane familiar friend to the Provest." Unluckily, however, Johnstone's charter of infeftment falls out of the way; but the consolation remains that if it does not turn up it may "be renewit be the Provest," and that too without consulting the chapter, seeing "it is na new few, bot the change of ane tennent according to the forme of the auld infeftment."

Here an ill-disguised legal device is indulged in, according to which the feus that were not heritable when held by Hew Douglas conveniently became so in the hands of John Johnstone, though, as it immediately afterwards appears, it is not the honest writer to the signet, but the intriguing Provost of Lincluden, that is to benefit by the disingenuous arrangement. "Maister Robert" receives back the lands from Johnstone, and then, for a consideration of course, assigns them to James Douglas of Baitford, "now callit

of Pinzerie;" "and swa the said James was maid to be in the place of the said Sir Robert, as he was ane privat persone and wassall to the said Johne Johnestoun, and be this discours it is certane that at thes tyme the said Johne Johnestoun was fewer and immediat heritable tennent to the Provest of Lincluden, and was immediat superiour to James Dowglas of Pinzerie, to quhome he hade disponit the propertie of the foirsaidis landis."

In the Parliament of July 1587 "the haill kirklands of the realme were annext to the Croun." Douglas, dreading injury to his interests, obtained a new infeftment, dated at Holyrood the 2d of April 1588, making Pinzerie the King's immediate tenant—this arrangement to continue "till it pleis the Provest to tak farder ordour" in the case. Another stage was reached by placing Pinzerie in the same relationship to the seven other subjects: the Mayns of Lincluden with their manor-place, Crochane, the mill of Staikfurd with its mill-lands, the mill of Tirrauchtie with its mill-lands, Clunie, Ernisbie, and Chapelerne. These lands, it is explained, "albeit they war ane pairt of the patrimonie of Lincluden, yit they war nevir sett in few to na person befoir the general annexatione;" but being now "our Soverane Lordis propertie" to be set in feu by "His Hienes" as freely as before the annexation, they might have been feued out by the Provost and chapter. Not only are all these lands disponed to Pinzerie, but they are united so as to become the barony of Corsmichaell,[1] "the sasing to be gewin at Grenelaw as the principal mesuage thairof." Further, it is stated that the kirk, parsonage and vicarage of Glencarne, which belonged to the canons of Glasgow, had been taken from that see, and the heritable patronage thereof assigned to the said barony. Still another large portion of the

[1] Some of the statements made in the document quoted from are open to question. At least five of the subjects specified above—viz. Lincluden Mains, Carruchan, Stakeford Mill with its mill-lands, and Clunie, were never actually comprehended in the barony of Crossmichael, but have always belonged to that of Drumsleet.

Lincluden patrimony—that, namely, which was held in feu by tenants—remained for disposal. It consisted of the twenty-six subjects specified in a preceding chapter as having been exempted from the Annexation Act of 1587. All these farms and mills with their pertinents went the same way as the rest—to enrich, nominally at least, James Douglas of Pinzerie, but Provost Douglas taking good care to provide for his own special aggrandisement by getting the liferents of the College property reserved for himself and his grand-nephew William Douglas.

The instructive document under notice closes thus:—"It is to be understood that our Sovrane Lord approaching to his age of xxv yeiris, and ane new Parliament being proclamit to be haldin in Junj jm lxxx tuelff, thair was sundrie opinions takin that the King micht revok at the age of twentie fyve yeiris quhatsumevir thing he hade disponit of befoir; in the quhilk his Majestie was alswa very instant to have hade it accomplishit. This movit the Provest to tak ane ratificatioun of all the infeftmentis maid before with ane new gift thairof, Quhilk infeftment is daitit at Halirud hous the xx day of Deccember jm ze fourscoir xj yeiris."

In the way just explained the family of Douglas of Baitford or Pinzerie, descended from George, third son of Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, became connected with Lincluden College. The relationship brought about a melancholy episode in its annals, the particulars of which we must now put on record. On the 2d of April 1603 a contract of marriage was entered into between Agnes Maxwell and William Douglas, heir-apparent of Baitford, with consent of her brother John, the ninth Lord Maxwell, Provost Douglas, liferenter of Lincluden, and James Douglas, feuar thereof, the father of the bridegroom; they obliging themselves to make over to him, and the heirs born of the marriage, the "haill temporality" of the College. Young Douglas, or Pinzerie as he was usually styled, was no fitting match for a daughter of the house of Max-

well. Though of high descent and with brilliant worldly prospects before him, he degenerated into a thorough vagabond, figuring at times as a common housebreaker, at others as a treasonable emissary, and filling up his cup of guilt with sundry deeds of blood that brought ruin in their train.

Only a few years intervened till, on the 6th of September 1610, Douglas, then feuar of Lincluden in right of his father, was placed before the High Court of Justiciary to answer for some of the many crimes with which he stood chargeable. The "dittay" or indictment in the case reveals a strange career of untempered lawlessness and violence. He was accused in the first instance of having caused the death of Thomas Softlaw, a Dumfries burgess, under the following circumstances:—Conceiving "deidly ffeid, rancour, and malice without ony caus" against Softlaw, the prisoner, in company with John Cunninghame, his servant, and other "deboischet" men, numbering about twenty, "all bodin in feir of weir," that is to say, fully accoutred with swords, lances, hackbuts, and pistols, "prohibeit to be borne or worne," went to the house of their victim in the Brigend of Dumfries. Finding the poor fellow there, they set upon him "fearcellie," though his "quyet and sober maner under Godis peace and the Kingis" ought to have disarmed their rage; and as a result he "schortlie thaireftir depairtit this life." In the second count Douglas and others were charged with the slaughter of Edward Maxwell of Crostoun, also at Bridgend. Among the accomplices mentioned were John Schillington, his servant; John Greir, swordslipper; and John Dempster, in the College of Lincluden—the whole party carrying swords, lances, and other weapons, which were used by them with such murderous effect upon the unfortunate Maxwell that he "nevir convalesced; bot, lying in extreame and deidlie payne," breathed his last five or six days afterwards.

Out of this deed of blood arose a subordinate charge, founded

on an effort made by Schillington, at the instance of Douglas, to liberate his comrade, Greir the swordslipper, who had been "tane with the bludie hand," and consigned to durance vile in the prison of Dumfries; the enterprise resembling to some little extent the more heroic deliverance effected eleven years before of Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle by the Bold Buccleuch:

"Then speedily to work we gaed,
And raised the slogan one and a',
And cut a hole through a sheet o' lead,
And sae we wan to the Castle ha'.

"Wi' coulters and wi' forehammers,
We gaid the bars bang merrilie,
Until we cam to the inner prison,
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie."

The Dumfries "pledge-chalmer," or jail, of that day had no "castle's strength" to boast of, yet the feat undertaken by Pinzerie's emissary required the exercise of rare ingenuity, caution, and courage. Having provided himself with levers, crowbars, files, and other tools, he—single-handed, seemingly—set forcibly to work, under cloud of night, upon the vault and pend, or arch, of the prison. Obtaining in this way access to Greir, he found the captive heavily fettered, just as Red Rowan found Kinmont Willie; but while the Teviotdale trooper had to carry the delivered outlaw on his back, irons and all, which at every step "played clang," the Nithsdale prison-breaker, by the dexterous application of his implements, "shore" off the manacles in which Greir was locked, and then conveyed him, uncumbered and safely, to Lincluden College. The indictment against Douglas under this head sets forth that "your servand, at your command and be your speciall convoy and assistance, violentlie and forceablie releisit the said Johnne Grier furth of our Soverane Lordis prisone, and caryreid him to your hous in Lyncluden, wheir ye reset, keiped,

and interteneid him diverse nychts and oulkis [weeks] thairefter." The next charge against Douglas discloses his illegal intercommuning with the ninth Lord Maxwell a few months prior to the slaughter of Dunskellie, and which, as we have already seen, was afterwards maintained. From the indictment it appeared, further, that John, the fifth Lord Herries, was directed by the Council to apprehend Pinzerie and "ane" other "nottour rebel and fugitive, Edward Maxwell of Craigtoun," his associate; but that when Herries attempted to carry out his commission he fared badly at their hands, and the servants who assisted him were beaten off and otherwise grievously maltreated.

For "commone thift, commone ressett of thift, out putting and in putting of thift fra land to land, fra cuntrie to cuntrie baith auld and new," Douglas was also arraigned; the black catalogue including the following case, which we quote from the "dittay" in a form slightly modernised and abridged:—Item, You, though "ane landit gentilman," are accused of coming to David Welsche's chalmer in the place of Grenelaw, and "tressonabill breking up of his lettrone [box] thair, and steiling furth thairof xxxv pounds money or thairby, twa half ducats of which perteined to the umquhile Proveist of Lyncluden his maister; whereof ye soon thair efter exchanged ane half ducat with Alexander Gordon, violer in Wigtoun, for fyve merkis." We are then told that this act of "stouthreif" having been noised abroad, it came at last to the knowledge of Provost Douglas, who was so indignant with you for the same, "that he boistet after to droun you, or at leist put you af the country," which the Provost as Lord of the Regality was legally entitled to have done.

In the final scene the culprit appears thoroughly crestfallen, occupying an attitude at once degraded and ridiculous; he, by the advice of the said David Welsche, passing to the Provost's residence at Greenlaw, "quhair he was lyand in his bed, and Penzerie, pulling off his breikis and schankis [or long hose], fell

doun upon his bair knees before the Provost, craving God and him for pardoun and forgiveness;" and swearing that he would never, never do the like again. The Provost seems to have dealt leniently with his reprobate kinsman; but no forbearance was shown to the criminal when placed at the bar before the Justice-Depute.

Douglas, pleading guilty to all the charges brought against him, threw himself on the clemency of the Court. Thereupon the Lord Advocate generously offered to ignore the plea and allow the panel to get the benefit of any statement that his prolocutors might make on his behalf. Utterly hopeless of their being able to establish any adequate defence, the miserable man prayed that mercy from the King's Majesty might be extended to him, but without effect. The jury of fifteen,[1] by their chancellor, William Crichton of Ryhill, having returned a verdict of guilty on all the counts, nothing less than a capital sentence of the most degrading kind could follow; and that, as pronounced by Alexander Kennedie, dempster of the Court, was in these terms:—"The Justice decernit and ordainit the said William Douglas to be tane to the Mercat-Croce of Edinburgh, and first his richt hand to be struken frome his body, and thairefter the said William to be hangit at the Mercat-Croce upon ane gibet quhill [until] he be deid; and all his landis, heritages, &c., to be fforfattit and escheit to our Soverane Lordis use as giltie and culpable of the saidis tressonabill crymes;" which sentence, it is added, was "pronounced for doom."[2]

[1] The names of the jurors are thus given:—William Creichtone of Ryhill, Alexander Maxwell of Logane, John Broun of Mullenis [Mollance], James Mairtene in Airdis, Jo[a] Fairies in Carse of Kynneill, Thomas Hunter in Burne, William Douglas of Lache, James M'Rerik of the Kerne, Johnne Grierson of Inglistoun, John Cormichell elder in Spothe [Spottes], George M'Ne in Lyncluden, Thomas Welche thair, Ninian Myller in Ryhill, Hew Douglas of Bethebocht, and Roger Padzeane of Newtoune.

[2] For the details of this extraordinary case we are chiefly indebted to Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. pp. 90-95.

The unhappy man who perished in this ignominous way had previously disponed part of his lands to Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. On the 28th of May 1611 such of them as were included within the baronies of Crossmichael and Drumsleet and excepted from the Acts of Annexation, were resigned into the King's hands by James Douglas; and on the 19th of the following December his Majesty granted them by charter to Sir Robert Gordon and to Sir John Murray of Lochmaben, who, as Groom of the Bedchamber, had won the favour of royalty—the former obtaining the Crossmichael lands, the latter those of Drumsleet; and both becoming bound to pay the feu mails (money rent) to William Douglas of Drumlanrig, Provost of Lincluden, during his lifetime, and afterwards to the Crown. As King James could not by the exercise of his own prerogative dispense these munificent favours, the Scottish Estates or Parliament had to be consulted, and various Acts were passed by that body giving full effect to the royal will on the subject. All the details of the way in which the lands that "pertenit of auld to the Provestrie" of Lincluden were allocated are pointed out by an Act bearing date June 1617. In another Act, passed five years afterwards, ratifying gifts made to John Murray, the motive for the King's generosity to his favourite personal attendant is feelingly specified to have been a desire to recognise "the gude, treu, and thankful service" rendered by Murray when "attending upon His Majestie's sacred persone continewally sen His Majestie's youth." The grants on this occasion included extensive lands in Annandale; "the tenements, houses, and yards lying beside the Brigend of Dumfreis qlkis pertenit of auld to the sacristers and prebendaris of the College Kirk of Lincluden, lying within the Stewartry of Kircudbright, and all and haill the fyve pundland of Troqueir."

During the short-lived existence of the Episcopal Establishment in Scotland the bishopric of Galloway was revived, Gavin

Hamilton, who was appointed to the see, receiving a royal grant of Tongland Abbey, Glenluce Abbey, and Whithorn Priory, with all their kirks and revenues. On the abolition of Prelacy in 1689 these properties reverted to the Crown. The Drumlanrig family, who got such a goodly share of the temporalities of Lincluden, were presented also by King James with the churches of Terregles and Lochrutton that had belonged to the College.

At a remote period the barony of Drumlanrig formed a portion of the great earldom of the Douglas line. Prior to 1388 it was conferred by their chief on his son, Sir William de Douglas, the deed of grant being attested, among other witnesses, by Archibaldo de Douglas Domino Gallovidie, founder of Lincluden Church. As, however, the date of the charter was accidentally omitted, it possessed no legal force; but full effect was given to its provisions by a holograph letter from King James I., dated the 30th of November 1412, to his "traiste and wele belofit cosyng Sir William of Douglas."[1] From him in a direct line sprang the William Douglas previously mentioned as liferenter of Lincluden,[2] and he, the last of its Provosts, was elevated to the peerage as Earl of Queensberry—the first who bore the title. To him the magnificent castle of Drumlanrig owes its existence. His grandson, the third Earl, received a dukedom in 1684; and it was his son James, the second Duke, who played a leading part in promoting the Union of 1707. We thus see that the first of the Queensberry Douglases began his public life as a Provost of Lincluden, and established the connection of another illustrious Scottish family with the College.

On William, the first Earl, devolved the pleasant duty of enter-

[1] There were, as the reader has already seen, two persons of this name closely associated with Lincluden and nearly related to each other—William Douglas of Pinzerie and William Douglas of Drumlanrig, grand-nephew of Provost Douglas.

[2] *Drumlanrig Castle and the Douglases*, by Dr. Ramage, p. 5. The royal letter, written on vellum, is preserved in the family charter-chest.

taining James VI. when the King passed down Nithsdale towards the close of his visit to Scotland in 1617. His "Sovrane Grace," accompanied by a splendid retinue of courtiers, including his favourite the Duke of Buckingham, spent a day under the roof of old Drumlanrig Tower. He entered Dumfries on the 3d of August; and before leaving the burgh presented the celebrated Silver Gun to its Incorporated Trades. There is a prevailing belief that James, before crossing the Nith, spent the night of the 2d in Lincluden; and though the tradition to that effect receives no support from "The Muse's Welcome," written to commemorate his Majesty's progress, nothing could have been more natural for his noble host than to conduct him to the place whose history is so intertwined with that of the Douglases, and where the King's own ancestress lies entombed.

Passing over a few additional years, we find Lincluden and its lands associated once more with the house of Maxwell. When the ninth Lord suffered at Edinburgh his estates and honours were forfeited; but eventually these, together with the title of Earl of Nithsdale, were conferred on Robert, his younger brother and heir. In 1627 the barony of Drumsleet, excepting the six merkland of Drungans, was disponed by Murray to Lord Nithsdale, and is now vested in that nobleman's successor, Lord Herries, as superior; while the lands immediately adjoining belong to Alfred Peter Constable Maxwell, Esquire of Terregles, late captain in the 92d Highland Regiment.

During the year just specified State Commissioners were appointed to facilitate the plantation of parochial churches throughout the land. To this Commission Johne Thomsone, Johne Cunyngham, and George Croket, "nominat electit and sworne for the parochyn of Terregles—Mr. Thomas Melville, minister thairat," gave in the subjoined report:—

"1. In the parochynne thair will be about tua hundredth communicants.

"2. The parochin is thrie myll in lenthe, thrie quarteris of ane mylne breid, and the kirk is in the middis of the pariche.

"3. The roume of the parochine moist remoitt from the kirk will not be ane myill and ane half.

"4. It is not united to anie uther kirk.

"5. It is ane of the fyve kirkis of the Colledge of Lynclouden, quhilk Colledge is within this parochin.

"6. It is nocht in laik patronage.

"7. The Ministeris present stipend is four hundredth four scoir merkis at the maist, and ewill payit.

"10. Thair is na schoole nor na provisioune for ane in the paroche, but greit neid of ane.

"11. There was ane chappell belanging of old to the Colledge Kirk of Lynclouden heaving ane pensioune of threttie pundis or abone, payit out of the landis of Maynis of the parochine of Southwick, and ane yaird within the boundis of the Colledge, in quantatie of tua ruidis. The pensioune for the present, sa far as we can understand, is in the possessioune of Johne Young, Schireff clerk of Drumfreis, and the yaird in the possessioune of Johnne Bowie, indwellar in the Colledge.

"12. Thair wes in the Colledge, as we are informit, aucht prebendaris and tuentie four beadmen. Lyk prebendaris had amangist thame fyftie merkis of feu maille of the barronie of Drumsleit, now in the possessioune of the Erle of Nithisdaill, and everie ane of thame fyftie bowis meill of the teynd bollis of meall of the parochynne of Carlaverock, but now in the possessioune of the Erle of Nithisdaill and Thomas Welshe, Messengir, burges of Drumfreis. The beadmen had everie ane of thame aucht bollis meall taine out of the parochine of Corsmichaill and barronie of Drumsleit, but the present possessouris we knaw not.

"13. Thair is in the parochine kirklandis, viz. the sex merk land of the Colledge of Lynclowden, the fourtie shilling landis quhilk is Viccar landis, callit the Kirklandis, adjacent to the kirk. The Maynis of Lynclowden is in the possessioune of the Erle of Nithisdail. The viccar landis in the possessioun of Johne Thomsone, set to him be the King in few, sa far as we knaw.

"14. The sex merk land of the Maynes of the Colledge of Lynclouden in coitt, croftis, and hiefield is estimat in yeirlie rent to thrie hundrethe merkis. The sex merk land of Lynclouden payis moir rent becaus of the multitude of the peopill and houssis.

"Mr. THO. MELVILL, *Minister of Terreglis.*"

This interesting report is signed by Johne Cunyngham "at Drumfreis, the sevint day of May, the yeir of God I^m. VI^c. and tuentie sevin yeiris," the said Johne Thomsone of Kirkland and George Crokatt subscribing notarially, "with our hands at the pen, led be the Notar underwrytin at our command, becaus we can not wrytt our selffis."

CHAPTER XII.

PERIOD OF DECAY.

Petition sent to the Earl of Nithsdale by poverty-stricken relatives from Lincluden—Lord Nithsdale's descendant, Lady Winifred Maxwell, married to William Haggerston Constable—Her grandson establishes his claim to the Herries peerage—Lady Winifred and Burns—The College deserted—Its appearance when visited by Pennant and Grose—Steps taken by its proprietor to arrest the progress of its decay—Extensive excavations undertaken which lead to important discoveries—The Abbey and College described through the medium of the new light cast upon their remains.

THE first Earl of Nithsdale restored Carlaverock Castle, and made it his chief place of residence; and Lincluden, thoroughly secularised, continued to be occupied as a mansion by his relatives far into the seventeenth century, and so long perhaps as it remained habitable. Dated from it on the 24th of August 1625 there is still extant a very melancholy letter revealing the straits to which wasting wars and feuds had reduced the Pollok branch of the family. It is addressed "To the richte noble and verrie guid Lord the Erle of Nithisdaill—these," and proceeds in the following terms:—"We, your Lordships friends, being upone occasioun of our greit distress conveniet heir at Linclouden, we all in ane voice haif resoluit to wryte to your Lordship to understand your Lordships guid counsall and directioun thairanent; for seeing your annual rentis is not payit, our landis are not onlie comprysit

bot also we ar denuncet his Majesteis rebellis, and letteris of caption gevin out againis us, so that hardlie we eschapit, nirthillis and not suir how son we sal be apprehendit, nothing douting in the mein tyme bot your Lordship knowes our distress als weill as we can wryte the same, and that your Lordship wil be als cairfull of our releiff as we can desyre." The subscribers go on to entreat the "richt guid" Lord to help them suddenly—at once; and more especially that he would procure an order from the King's treasurer to stay the legal proceedings directed against them until his Majesty's pleasure in the matter shall have been made known. Because of the urgency of their case the noble Lord is requested to favour them with an answer by a bearer of his own in the event of the ordinary "pakett" being unavailable. Before closing they solemnly commend their chief and all his affairs to the "rest of God." Signed, "Crags; Johne Maxwell of Nether Pollok, Knicht; S. J. Calderwood; James Maxwell, Conhaithe; Archibald Maxwell, Cowhill."

The result of this pressing appeal to Lord Nithsdale is not known, but it would scarcely be unfavourable, seeing that he was naturally liberal and generous. These qualities were more than sufficiently manifested by the noble Earl during the civil war that soon afterwards ensued; the royal cause finding in him a most devoted supporter, and one who was called upon to suffer heavily for its sake. Like the Provost's Lodging, in which dwelt for a period the fourth Lord Herries and the first Earl of Queensberry, a palatial mansion built by the first Earl of Nithsdale within the stout walls of Carlaverock Castle, has long been a desolate place, tenanted only by the owls and the bats; and since the troubles in which the family were involved by their chivalrous devotion to the Jacobite cause, they have had their chief seat on the south side of the Border. After the escape of the last Lord Nithsdale from the Tower, where he lay under sentence of death, passed upon

him for his share in the rising of 1715, he went to Rome, where he spent the remainder of his life in the service of the Chevalier St. George, for whose sake he had incurred the forfeiture of his estates and the attainder of his title. It having been decided, after much litigation, that the forfeiture only affected his life interest in the estates, his son, William Maxwell, succeeded to them. He appears to have led a quiet, retired life at Terregles, and was succeeded by his daughter Winifred, who married William Haggerston Constable, of Everingham Park, Yorkshire.

Their only son, Marmaduke Constable Maxwell, inherited the Terregles and Carlaverock estates, as well as that of Everingham. The two latter, Carlaverock and Everingham, were left by him to his eldest son William, who in 1858 made good his claim to the title of Baron Herries of Terregles, the attainder passed upon the family in 1715 having been removed in 1848. His son, the present Lord Herries, succeeded to his title and estates in 1876, and was created a Peer of the United Kingdom in 1884 under the style of "Baron Herries of Carlaverock Castle, and of Everingham Park, Yorkshire."

The above-mentioned Marmaduke Constable Maxwell left the Terregles estates to his second son and namesake, who possessed them with much honour to himself and benefit to his tenantry until his death in 1872. He died childless, and Terregles estate now belongs to his nephew, Captain Alfred Constable Maxwell, to whom antiquarians and the general public are indebted for the recent extensive improvements carried out at Lincluden. Captain Maxwell, we ought to mention, has also restored the Quire of Terregles, built by his great ancestor John, fourth Lord Herries.

Robert Burns was on intimate terms with Winifred Maxwell. An ardent Jacobite she was, but scarcely more so than the national bard; the chief bond of sympathy between the warm-hearted gentlewoman and the illustrious peasant being their sentimental love for the exiled Stuarts, and their sorrow for the fate of

the luckless Prince who vainly sought to redeem their fortunes. When at length the Maxwells came northward to occupy their old residence, Burns tuned his harp and elicited from its strings a strain resembling that of the real Jacobite minstrels. In his ballad, "Nithsdale's Welcome Home," there is a beautiful reference to the happy reverses of fortune experienced by the family—

"The noble Maxwells and their powers
Are coming o'er the Border;
And they'll gae big Terregles towers,
And set them a' in order;
And they declare Terregles fair,
For their abode they chuse it;
There's no a heart in a' the land,
But's lighter at the news o't.

"Tho' stars in skies may disappear,
And angry tempests gather,
The happy hour may soon be near
That brings us pleasant weather;
The weary night o' care and grief
May hae a joyfu' morrow;
So dawning day has brought relief—
Fareweel, our night o' sorrow."

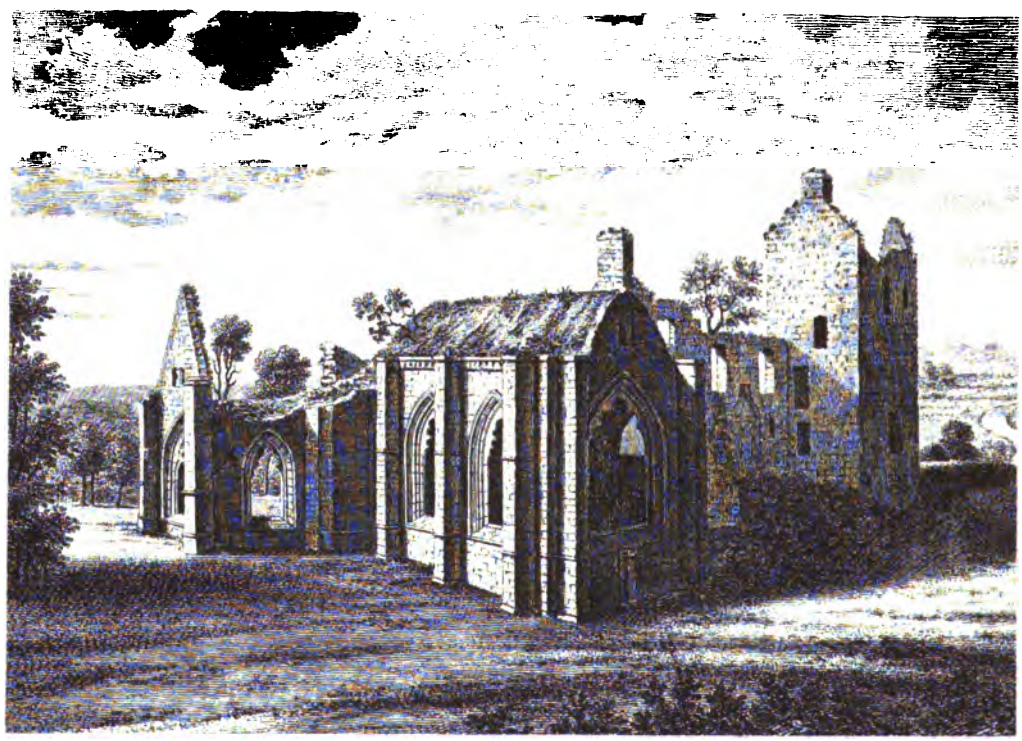
As in the case of most monastic establishments, a considerable village rose up near Lincluden at an early period of its history. There is some reason for concluding that the village stretched a good long way in a south-easterly direction towards Bridgend, as Maxwelltown was termed, when it too was nothing more than a hamlet on a big scale. Between the two a community of feeling existed, as they were not only locally associated, but both belonged to the brotherhood of the College. By the Annexation Act Bridgend became Crown property; but, as has been already stated, James VI., cancelling that arrangement, conferred the village and some acres of land around it on his favourite Murray.

Occasional references to both villages appear in the College charters; one of which is worthy of being quoted from here, on account of what it says about the little "town" of Lincluden and its surroundings. This document embodies the narrative of a seisin, dated the 8th February 1678, by John Mitchelson of Jardineton, and Margaret Mackburnie, his spouse, in favour of John Wright, and is to the following effect, as detailed in the text of the relative contract of wadsett of the said lands as acquired by their purchaser, viz.—"All and haill that tenement of land, with the yaird and pertinents lyand in the heid of the toun or village of Lincluden upon the west part thairof, and also of Eight acres of land of the lands of the Mains of Lincluden, lying contiguous to the said tenement upon the North side thairof, and ane aiker of land lyand in the Beircroft of the said Mains of Lincluden going fra the streit callit the Kings Hie Streit, quhilk leidis to the Compterford be the West syde of the Thornraw to the hill callit the Dowcat-hill, and siklyke all and haill ane dark [daurg] of Medow at the heid of the Charterland Medow; and in lyke manner in all and haill the just and equall half of the saidis lands callit the Aikhill, and twa Broomknowes, and with liberty to cast peitis and turris in the Aikiehill Moss, and in all and haill 12 sowmes of grass or sowmes of guidis within the common pasturage of the College Mains, together with the haill parts, pendicles, and pertinents thairoff; all lying within the parochin of Terregles, regaltie of Lincluden, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright."[1]

This village ceased to flourish after its fostering Alma Mater fell into decay. Some three or four of its cottages remained standing about a furlong from the College till within the last forty years; now they are all gone, and two farmhouses, situated nearer the ruins, have risen up in their stead. Another change took place in the aspect of the neighbourhood when the stately mansion of

[1] Sheriff's Court Record, Dumfries.

SOUTH WEST VIEW AFTER GROSE 1789



SOUTH-EAST VIEW AFTER 'PENNANT' 1775

LINCLUDEN TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF LAST CENTURY

Lincluden House,[1] at first termed Youngfield, was erected in 1824 by Mr. Gilbert Young.

But for the protracted absence of the Maxwells Lincluden would probably have suffered less than it did from the decline which began to eat, cancer-like, into its old walls so soon as they ceased to be occupied. The desertion and consequent decadence of the building may be dated from the close of the sixteenth century. It suffered no molestation, so far as can be ascertained, during the troubles of the Reformation period. The outbursts of popular fury, which in 1559 and 1561 overthrew or seriously injured other churches and monasteries in Scotland, left Lincluden unharmed. For at least five years after the latter period its establishment, as we have seen, remained in working order under the rule of Provost Douglas; and while reference is made in the minutes of the period to repairs put upon the fabric, these were required for injuries due to ordinary wear and tear, and not to the hand of violence. Not only the Maxwell family, but the parishioners of Terregles, few of whom renounced their old faith, would certainly have interposed for the defence of the College if it had been wantonly assailed.[2]

Pennant visited Lincluden in 1775, by which period it had assumed a desolate aspect, as two views he gives of it reveal. The roof of the chancel was gone, the vaulting from which it sprang, however, still remaining entire. Describing Lady Margaret's tomb, he states that he found it to be in all parts most

[1] Lincluden House is at present occupied by Lady Anne Ewart, aunt of the proprietor, Major Young.

[2] While Protestantism made considerable progress in Nithsdale at an early period, the Town Council of Dumfries, when supplicating the General Assembly in 1602 to provide the parish with an able minister in lieu of Mr. Hew Fullertone, whose services they had lost, backed up their petition by stating that Romanism was still powerful in their midst, their town having become "ane seat of excommunicat Papists and Jesuits."—*Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 323.

beautifully carved, and that "her effigy at full length lay on the stone, her head resting on two cushions, but the figure is now mutilated;" and he adds the all but incredible statement that "the bones of the deceased had been scattered about the floor of the choir by some wretches who broke open the repository in search of treasure."[1] The tourist states further that behind the house "are vestiges of a flower-garden, with the parterres and scrolls very visible." Referring to Kirkhill, he says, near the garden there is "a great artificial mount, with a spiral walk to the top, which is hollowed, and has a turf seat to command the beautiful views;" "so that," he quaintly adds, "the Provost and his bedesmen seem to have consulted the luxuries as well as the necessaries of life." Fourteen years afterwards Grose paid a visit to the College, and as a result a description of its condition and two illustrative engravings appear in his well-known work, these showing that no great change for the worse had taken place since 1775. When, about the beginning of the current century, the chancel roof gave way, falling into the interior, and leaving it quite exposed to the elements, the wreckage of the ancient fane was further accelerated; and it was rendered still more nearly complete in 1851 by the fall of the heptagonal tower, as already recorded. "Time's effacing fingers," and still more mischievous human hands, have sadly manipulated the carved work of the chancel, especially that by which the doorway and rood screen were enriched; some figures and scrolls which were pretty entire so recently as fifty years ago having now almost lost both their meaning and their beauty.

Not many years ago the question was mooted of restoring Lincluden in connection with the educational settlement of the Marist Brothers, who, however, obtained accommodation elsewhere at Dumfries. More recently a rumour prevailed that from the ruins of the house of Uchtred another nunnery might possibly arise, to

[1] Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 105.

be peopled anew with the monastic descendants of the Benedictine sisterhood who were ejected from the Abbey by the Black Douglas. It having become known that the Dowager Lady Herries, mother of the present Baron, intended to erect a house for female celibates somewhere in the locality, it was thought by many of her co-religionists that no fitter site for it could be found than the pleasant nook occupied by the relics of the previous building. But there were strong practical difficulties in the way of this romantic scheme, and probably it was never seriously entertained. In due course, however, the projected nunnery was erected on Corbelly Hill, which, as we have already seen, originally belonged to the community of Lincluden. History repeated itself when, after the lapse of 700 years, the daughters of St. Benedict renewed their connection with Nithsdale, and when France, which is believed to have sent the first band of Black Nuns for the old house in 1164, performed a similar service for the new house in 1884; with this important difference, that the Abbey of Lincluden accorded well with the spirit of its age, while the Nunnery of the Sacred Heart on Corbelly Hill is a phenomenon that seems at strange variance with all its surroundings, social and physical.

In 1877 the condition of the College was brought under the notice of Captain Maxwell by a deputation who waited upon him for that purpose at the instance of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.[1] His own views agreed thoroughly with theirs; and indeed since the time he acquired the property he had felt that the state of the Abbey and College was a reproach to their owner, and would have begun to repair them immediately, had it not been that the land round the ruins was in the tenancy of Major Young. An opportunity for resuming pos-

[1] The deputation consisted of Mr. J. Gibson Starke of Troqueer Holm, an able and devoted antiquarian, and of the author of the present work.

session having arisen in 1882, Captain Maxwell at once embraced it, put the remains of the venerable fabric in good order at great expense, and having succeeded in getting a suitable person to act as their custodier,[1] he built a neat cottage near by for his residence. As already mentioned, Mr. Barbour read two papers on the subject to the members of the Society just named, embodying a detailed account of the discoveries that had been made during the excavations, and showing how much the building had profited by these and the other works so liberally undertaken for its benefit by Captain Maxwell. We subjoin a summary of the valuable information communicated by Mr. Barbour.

He expresses his belief that the College had been a completed building, though possibly the masonry may have been erected in sections, beginning with the chancel and proceeding westward. The plan was not cruciform, the part occupying the position and projecting in the form of a transept being in this case a side chapel, which, with the aisle, had been roofed with groined and ribbed vaulting at a uniform height; and there had been a room over the chapel, lighted by a small double window in the top of the gable, and approached by a circular staircase in the angle between the transept and the chapel. There are a few instances of buildings in which rooms somewhat similar are found, but the purpose of the apartments is matter of dispute. Upon the walls of the aisle and chapel remain the vaulting shafts and parts of the moulded ribs of the vaulting supported upon sculptured corbels. A little of the vaulting itself also remains, showing that it has been constructed of rag-work—that is, small flat-bedded stones, in this case half an inch to three inches in thickness, and entirely unhewn, set in thick beds of mortar. The chancel itself had been roofed by groined and ribbed vaulting in three divisions, vaulting shafts and part of the ribs being still left upon the walls. Over this vaulting, as was

[1] Mr. Jardine, dairyman.

ROYAL ARMS WITH SHIELD OF PROVOST STEWART

AND FRONT OF ROOD SCREEN LINCLUDEN

the case with that of the side chapel, there had been an apartment roofed by a cylindrical stone vault, and reached by the circular stair that adjoins the entrance into the chancel.[1]

Referring to the figures on the west side of the rood screen, Mr. Barbour says they are arranged in rows one over another; the middle row consisting of about twenty figures, winged, and their hands crossed over their breasts; the upper row representing heads filling in the triangular spaces between the upper parts of the wings of the figures below them; and the lower row representing the birth of our Saviour and scenes in His life, but so mutilated that the groups can scarcely be traced. As showing the unstinted care of the sculptor, it may be mentioned that the lower parts of the limbs of some of the figures are perfectly formed, although when the sculpture was complete they would not be visible. The westmost remaining vaulting shaft of the aisle is supported by a figure; at the angle formed by the walls of the aisle and side chapel the vault ribs sprang from a pair of figures; and the image bracket in the side chapel is upheld by a figure, winged, and holding a scroll uninscribed. Within the chancel there are six figures, supporting vaulting shafts, all winged. The attitudes of these sculptured figures can yet be observed, and through all the mutilation and almost obliteration of detail something of their power is still visible.

Another piece of sculpture recovered during the clearing of the ruins is a slab, evidently a fragment of the breast or parapet of the

[1] At a meeting of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society, held on the 7th of December 1877, an interesting paper was read on Lincluden by Mr. Glover Anderson, architect, who has paid great attention to the subject. Mr. Anderson, in describing the chancel roof, remarks that "the excessive care shown by the double vaulting suggests the use of the upper as a store for valuables, or library." Respecting the Church he says: "It was undoubtedly the richest work of architecture ever erected in the district; for lofty solemn grandeur it may not have been able to compare with Sweetheart, but for pure yet lavish decoration there must have been few buildings in the south of Scotland worthy of comparison."

rood loft. It is about two feet nine inches high, and the remains consist of three pieces, the larger one containing four panels, one of the smaller the upper part of two panels, and the other the lower part of two; in every panel showing a figure in low relief. The panelling consists of an ogee pointed arcade, the framing chamfered only, and without cusps. Beginning at the left side of the larger piece, the upper part of the figure on the first panel is destroyed, but the lower part shows a long dress and the feet of a figure unshod, a sword being also visible on which the vanished hands must have rested—the weapon indicating that the figure represents St. Paul. The second figure, holding a chalice in the left hand and pointing to it with the right, is recognised by its emblem as that of St. John the Evangelist. The face is bearded, and the hair of the head is disposed of in a number of small oval balls. The third figure holds a book in the left hand, and what may have represented a scroll in the right one. It is, we think, a delineation of our Lord, as the visage and accessories resemble those usually assigned in sculptured work to the Saviour. In this case the hair is falling, and on the face is a beard divided. The fourth figure holds a book in the left hand and a staff in the right; the beard and hair being similar to those of the second figure.

One of the smaller pieces of the table shows a head and the upper part of a figure, holding in the right hand a book and in the left a staff, the hair falling and the face bearded. The vestments of the figures are disposed in many and graceful folds. The broken trunk of another figure was found, bearing the impress of good workmanship, but leaving no trace by which it can be identified. Had it not been seemingly of feminine type, the speculation might have been hazarded that the mysterious fragment is the torso of the monument raised by the founder of the College in honour of his father, Sir James Douglas. The sculptured figure of Lady Margaret, which was in a mutilated condition when seen by

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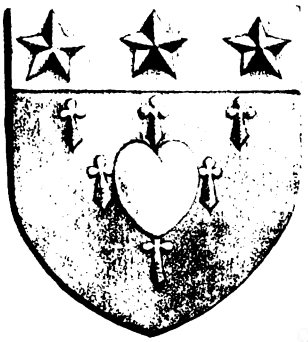

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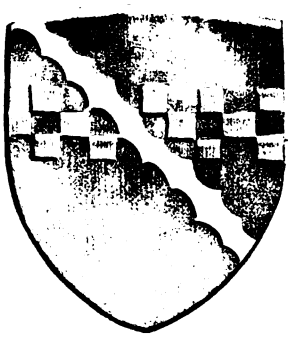

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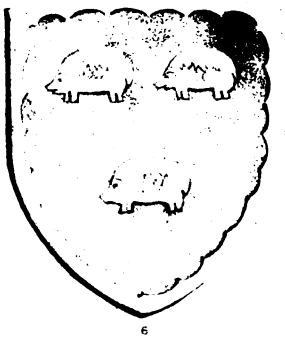

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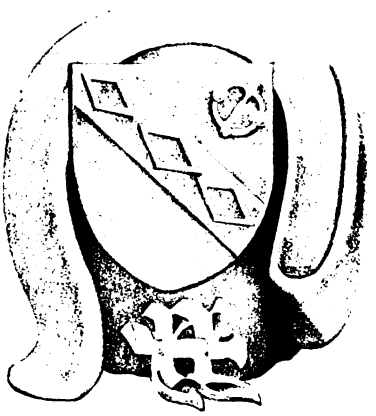

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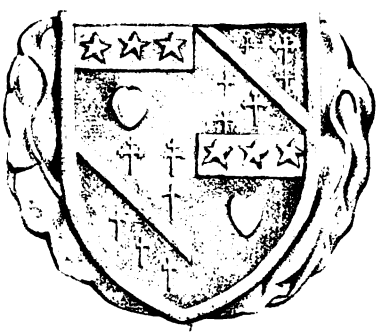

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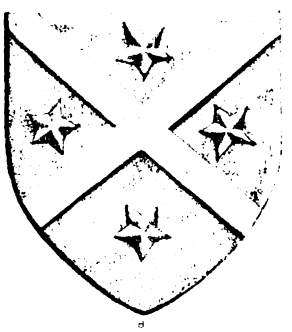

8

ARMORIAL BEARINGS (INCLUDED)

1 DOUGLAS 2 ROYAL ARMS OF SCOTLAND 3 STEWART 4 DOUGLAS AND GALLOWAY

5 HALYBURTON 6 HERRIES 7 DOUGLAS AND MAR 8 DUBTFUL

5 HALYBURTON 6 HARRIES 7 DOUGLAS AND MAR 8 D UBTFUL

Pennant, and had been lost sight of for a century, was recovered by the explorers, and is justly looked upon as one of the chief prizes of their search. But it is such a wreck that the sculptor of the effigy, had he been alive, could scarcely have recognised his own handiwork. "It is," says Mr. Barbour, "broken into two pieces, and so disfigured that it is with difficulty the details of it can be followed. The head of the recumbent figure, which appears to have been crowned, rests on two cushions; the hair hangs down in long ringlets, one on each side, and the hands are crossed upon the breast. The lower of the two cushions is oblong and lies crossways, the upper one is square and lies upon the other diagonally, and both are tasselled. Upon the lower part of the dress is still a small portion of ornamental detail; the cushions exhibit corded seams, and on one of them is represented minute and beautiful braiding, the whole leading to the conclusion that the figure, instead of being, as it seems on a casual inspection, rude, has been executed in all its parts with the utmost minuteness and care, and without doubt it has been a work of high art, fitted to cover the remains of a princess and adorn this beautiful Church."

Of the genuineness of the relic no doubt is entertained, and, dreadfully marred and mangled though the figure is, we are not without hope of seeing it restored and placed in its original position. There is much carved leaf work also on the building, as on the cornice of the south wall of the chancel, the sedilia, piscina, tomb, priest's door, east corbelling of the rood loft, the capitals of vaulting shafts, the caps of mullion rolls of the chancel windows, the imposts of the chancel arch, and west respond of the arcade, and in connection with a number of the shields. It is mostly adapted after nature, some of it very closely, and in design and execution it is admirably suited to the material of which it is wrought.

Mr. Barbour, in describing the heraldry, states that it is in better preservation than the sculpture, and seems on that account to

be the more prominent adjunct of the two. He notices the shields upon the tomb in the chancel, and also one on its south wall bearing on a bend three mascles, and in the sinister canton a buckle of the first, the arms of the Halyburtons, scroll-encircled, with the monogram J. H., the scroll bearing the words Loyal and Halyburton, and other two words difficult to decipher. Pennant states, it is thought erroneously, that this shield displays the arms of John Stewart, Earl of Athol, with the motto, "Furth fortune and fill the fetters."

The Provost's Lodging is described as follows by Mr. Barbour:—"It extends northwards from the sacristy, and has contained one apartment in its width, and an octagonal projecting staircase near the centre of its west front. The basement consists of five vaulted cellars. The first floor appears to have contained a square apartment at the north end, and the remainder of the floor formed probably the great hall. The second floor contained a north room, and the space over the hall would be divided into several rooms. The north part of the building only was carried up a third floor, forming a square tower with crowstepped gables. The entrance door opened upon the octagonal staircase, and the staircase gave access to the first and second floors; the third floor of the tower being reached by a small stair within the north-east angle of the wall, starting from the room below. One of the cellars was entered from the staircase, and the other four by outside doors in the west wall. The windows of the rooms have been principally in the east wall, and would overlook the well-formed gardens and scarped mound attached to the place, the meeting of the waters, and an extensive tract of country beyond. The polygonal tower,[1] most of the walls of the square tower, and the quarter part of the west wall between the square tower and the Church, existed in 1805. Now only the lower parts of the

[1] This is the tower previously mentioned as being heptagonal.

walls of the many-sided tower, the cellars, and the square tower to about half its height, with a piece of one corner of it rising to a greater height, remain. The two cellars adjoining the sacristy were erected, it is believed, at the same time as the Church; the hewing being similar, and the vaulting being also of rag-work. The workmanship exhibited in the other portions of this part of the ruins is different and inferior; and quantities of slates and other material, which evidently belonged to some former building, are found embedded in the walls. The mouldings also are dissimilar to, and of later date than, those of the Church. The work was probably erected about 1530 by William Stewart, who was then Provost. His arms, which have been recovered, appeared upon the polygonal tower; and a carved corbel has been found bearing the initials of his name, V.S., upon it."

Before Lincluden was vacated by its living tenants it had a vault for the reception of the dead; and long afterwards, down till a comparatively recent period, it was used to a limited extent as a burial-place. During the recent excavations some fragments of a stone coffin were turned up, together with a stone on which are incised a scroll, and in old English letters the words "De Douglas;" the letters "IE" also appearing upon it, this being possibly a relic of the memorial in honour of Sir James Douglas, erected by his son Archibald the Grim. A highly-interesting tombstone, broken into three pieces, was recovered from the stratum of rubbish four feet deep that had accumulated on the floor of the Lady Margaret's Chapel. It had been placed there to mark the spot where the remains of Provost Carnys were laid. It is a massive oblong slab of red sandstone, measuring eight feet by four. Round its four sides runs an inscribed border, the figure of a tree appearing in the centre, above which there is a shield bearing a fesse and an inscribed scroll all incised. The inscription on the border is much defaced; the legible portion, in old English

characters, being "HIC JACET MAGISTER ALEXANDER DE CARNYS." Not being able to make out the legend, Mr. Barbour sent a rubbing of it to the author of *The Book of Carlaverock*, Dr. Fraser, whose reading of it is, "QUI ME CALCATIS PEDIBUS PRECE SUBVENIATIS"—"You who tread on me with your feet remember me with your prayers,"—this touching appeal being, no doubt, specially addressed to the chaplain and bedesmen of the College.

Another stone was laid bare, lying west of the chapel, with faint traces of lettering that cannot be interpreted. Neighbouring the Provost's gravestone two others were unearthed, each with border inscriptions, these being respectively—"Here lyis ane honest man, Alexander Cooper, mason, 1588;" and "Here lyis Robert Cowper, mearsome, Burgis of Drownfreis, 161 "—the last figure of the date being obliterated. It is supposed that the word "mearsome" here employed was meant for mason; but no such barbarous piece of spelling, during even an unlettered period, have we ever met with elsewhere. Still another memorial of the dead was discovered—one in the nave, so deformed that its significance is lost.

When drawing his second paper to a close, Mr. Barbour describes an interesting relic of the stalls of the Church. His remarks respecting it are subjoined in a slightly abridged form:—"In the quire attached to the parish church of Terregles, erected in 1583 by John Lord Herries as a place of sepulture for himself and his family, is a piece of furniture long known as the Provosts' Chair of Lincluden. Any one acquainted with church furniture will not hesitate to pronounce this piece of furniture to be part of the stalls of some important pre-Reformation church, and the ornate character of the work and its architectonic style are such as would be in keeping with the Church of Lincluden. The Terregles family being connected with Lincluden at the Reformation, would, it may be presumed, when the Church was dismantled, carry away this piece of furniture to Terregles, and deposit it in

the new burial-place, where it now remains. Two of the stalls are nearly complete, except that the back boards and the canopies are wanting; and there are parts of a third stall. The work is of oak. The seat-boards turn up in the usual way, and have the usual carved miserere, allowed by the Church as a sort of rest for relief to the infirm during the long services that were required to be performed in a standing posture. The points of the elbows are carved, and the back framing rises in a series of buttresses and pinnacles richly decorated with carved crotchets and finials. Parts of carved pieces of the canopies also remain. A unique circumstance came to light a few years ago respecting this so-called Provosts' Chair of Lincluden. Captain Maxwell had undertaken the re-edification of the place of sepulture within which, against one of the walls, it stood; and on its being removed from that position, on some of the remaining boards forming the back were discovered traces of paintings. The paintings appear to be *in tempera*. The more complete one is upon two boards, a third board upon which a small part of it had extended being wanting. This painting represents a female figure in a standing posture, the left arm crossed upon the right one. The features of the face are obliterated; the face itself is oval; the hair is yellow and long, hanging down upon the shoulders. Upon the head is a crown with alternate *fleur-de-lys* and short points. The inner garment is of a reddish-brown colour; and the outer mantle, which depends from the shoulders and arms in graceful folds, has a yellow border ornamented with lines and roundlets. I cannot make out the colour of the mantle, but I think it may have been blue; the inner lining is white, probably representing a fur. The cloak is secured about the neck by a yellow band and a ring, through which the band passes. Of the second painting only a small portion remains. The head and the hair, which is yellow, can be made out; but the face is obliterated. The cloak has been of a reddish-brown colour with yellow border;

the left hand holds a chalice, and the right one is represented pointing over it. It was customary in ancient times to paint on the backs of the stalls the founders and benefactors of the Church, and saints also were common subjects of representation. The female figure in this case is doubtless intended to represent St. Mary, to whom it is believed the Church was dedicated, and the companion picture St. John the Evangelist."

Some small fragments were recovered of the glass used in the windows of the Church, and of the lead in which the quarries were set; the pieces, though corroded and discoloured, sufficing to show that the windows were varied in hue, and fitted to enhance the effect of the solar radiance when it streamed through upon the rich architecture and rare sculptured decorations of the fabric.

Mr. Barbour finishes his paper with the emphatic remark—"Every circumstance revealed during the recent excavations goes to show that the building had been complete; and every accessory of it—the painted windows, the richly-carved stalls overlaid with painted imagery—enhances the splendour exhibited by its more structural parts."

CHAPTER XIII.

A HISTORICAL PANORAMA.

"The Poet's Dream" at Lincluden—Suggested parallel to it of a Historical Panorama depicting the chief personages connected with the building, from Uchtred, its founder, to Burns, its poet laureate, and the leading scenes that have occurred under its roof or around its walls.

WHAT a grand processional array the descendants of Dovenald and the other leading characters connected with Lincluden would make, were they summoned to pass before us by the wand of fancy! Since the beautiful Abbey, built by one of them, fell into decay, it has frequently been the object and the scene of poetical and artistic inspiration. Burns himself often wooed the muse when meditating under the pensive shadow of its ruined walls; and it was while thus employed, as he tells us, that the genius of "Libertie" rose up before his eye and poured such strains into his ear as he did not dare (in that undemocratic day) to repeat in his rhymes. Another bard, comparatively unknown, Mr. W. Joseph Walter, who was tutor at Terregles House for three years ending in 1815, published a fine poem that is often erroneously attributed to Burns, entitled, "An Evening View of the Ruins of Lincluden Abbey," in which he vividly recalls its pristine condition, peoples it anew with the vestal sisterhood, and gives voice anew to their

chanted song. An accomplished artist, Mr. D. O. Hill, whose no less gifted widow produced the Dumfries statue of Burns, drew a most ingenious picture, tributary to the national bard, which he termed "The Poet's Dream." In this work Burns is represented reposing on a verdant knoll near the relics of the Provost's Lodging, during a happily-haunted gloaming hour, and descrying in his slumbers many of the scenes he had glorified and the characters he had immortalised; all the animated figures crowding around him in a diversified series of spiritual tableaux. To these visions, associated with Lincluden, there might be added a historical panorama, of the nature already hinted at, which would bear upon its fanciful canvas the principal figures and incidents introduced in these pages to the reader.

Were such a work to be undertaken the van would have to be led by Galvus, the bold Scoto-Irish adventurer, shadowy as one of Fingal's heroes, followed, falchion in hand, by the two stalwart leaders of the wild Galwegian Scots who fought and fell at the battle of the Standard. Next to these semi-barbarous warriors might pass Fergus, the first Galloway lord of his line, sage-like, refined, and melancholy. Then his not less gentle son Uchtred, disturbed, it may be, in his pious meditations by the clangour of battle, and agonised as he perceives his remorseless brother appearing on the scene to shed his blood. As a matter of course the Countess Marjory would have to be introduced,—masculine, yet not unwinsome, though in order to win a husband she had to rely more upon physical force than the fascination of her personal charms. A good group could be made out of the Carrick lady apparelled for the chase and the graceful cavalier whom if she did not captivate she made captive, and by so doing all-unconsciously pioneered the way for the liberation of Scotland when it lay captive under the galling English yoke. For the glorious Liberator himself a prominent place would have to be assigned as slaying

the Red Comyn in the Dumfries monastery erected by Uchtred's lineal representative Devorgilla, or, better still, breaking the oppressor's rod on the field of Bannockburn. John Baliol, the representative of the rival house, might, on account of his connection with Uchtred's family, get a place in the pageant, companioned by his bride, "The Fair Maid of Fotheringay;" or she might be introduced afterwards in widow's weeds, though still young, "rycht pleasant of bewtie," as depicted by Wynton, but inconsolable for the loss of her departed lord.

With a visage that nobody could mistake, the stern suppresser of the Abbey would have to figure on the canvas. Yet, harsh and covetous though the Black Douglas was, he could be exceedingly bountiful at times, otherwise the College Church, by which the Abbey was replaced, would have had no existence. To his heroic mould and bravery Froissart, the French historian, bears witness, the grim Earl appearing on his page as "a worthie knight" with a sword two ells long that was "light in his terrible hand," though "scarcely another man could raise it from the ground."[1] Pity it is that his connection with our subject requires that he should be portrayed less as a great warrior than as a ruthless autocrat. The face of his daughter-in-law, the Princess Margaret, if truthfully drawn, would present a pleasant contrast; and a unique figure might be supplied of the half-mythical Abbess seeking an asylum at Dundrennan, after bidding a last adieu to her own desolated home. If the artist wished to grace his picture still more, he might do so legitimately by introducing another lady not less forlorn and of matchless beauty—Mary Queen of Scots, as led away from dolorous Langside by the noble tenant of Lincluden, Lord Herries. A prominent place would have to be given to another Maxwell, the eighth Lord, as daringly defying the Protestant Government by holding a prohibited religious ser-

[1] *Chronicle Book*, vol. ii. p. 17.

vice in the College Church; or, terrible transition, slaughtered and barbarously mangled in battle by his feudal enemies—the hair of the dissevered head dappled with blood, it may be, but not gray as described by Scott—the luckless chief having been cut down in the very flower of his days. A scene sadder still would have to follow, representing the fatal tryst at which the ninth Lord Maxwell avenged his father's death by shooting the Laird of Johnstone, or another depicting the hurried flight of the homicide and his emissary, red-handed, to Lincluden. That "venerable man," Provost Robert Douglas, with a face betokening less respectable qualities than those expressed by the epithet, and Pinzerie, as the unmitigated knave of our narrative, might be seen looming out of the far background among the unheroic actors in the pictured drama.

Among other groups suitable for its illustration one might be given representing the lofty Lord William Douglas laying aside his usual haughty air when, standing at the College gates, he bids the Border barons welcome as they come trooping along to hold conference with him under its roof. Another, the memorable meeting within its walls of the fugitive English Queen with her warm-hearted royal hostess, just newly made a widow—their youthful sons in the happy carelessness of childhood frolicking by their side; the artist taking care not to paint the heroic Margaret too much of an Amazon, remembering what Suffolk is made to say of her by Shakspeare:

> "She's beautiful, and therefore to be wooed;
> She is a woman, therefore to be won."

By a pardonable stretch of fancy a trio might follow, consisting of William Douglas of Drumlanrig, showing the mausoleum of Margaret Bruce to her descendant the British Solomon, and the handsome, dashing Duke of Buckingham, on whom he doated.

LINCLUDEN

DISTANT VIEW FROM THE [illegible]

Coming down to a more modern day, Captain Grose, the "fat fodjel" wight, might appear "takin' notes" of Lincluden as he did in 1789, or, grouped with his friend Burns, surveying the "houlet-haunted biggin." Better still, the manly figure of the great minstrel, whose visits to the old ruins gave them a fresh renown, might form by itself the finale of the phantom gathering, as listening to

> "The mavis' sang
> Sounding Clouden's woods amang;"

or as himself entranced, inspired, singing

> "At his task
> So clear, we know not if it is
> The laverock's song we hear, or his,
> Nor care to ask."

Here we may let the curtain fall a second time, and finally, on the scenes which render this venerable pile dear to the antiquarian and poetic eye; and which of itself, time-worn and forlorn, appeals pathetically to the hearts of all beholders. Consecrated in a rude age to a devotional purpose; made famous by its connection with great national events; borrowing lustre from many celebrities to whom it stands related; and receiving superadded glory from the genius of Burns; hoary House of Uchtred and the M'Dowalls, of Margaret Bruce and the Douglases, of Herries and the Maxwells; severely simple in its conventual years, richly apparelled in its collegiate prime, and dowered with a new beauty in its desolate old age—farewell. The task of its Chronicler, imperfectly performed, he fears, is finished. He accompanies his parting word with the expression of a hope that the affectionate care lately bestowed upon Lincluden will be continued, so that it may remain for many coming generations an ornament to Nithsdale, and an object of endearment to pilgrims from every land.

APPENDIX.

The Abbey as a sanctuary or place of refuge—Its subterranean passage—Proceedings of the Lincluden conference on Border warfare—Acts relating to the disposal of the College property—Names of its present owners—Burns and Lincluden; his "Vision of Libertie," his "Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes"—Walter's poem, "A Moonlight Visit to the Ruins of Lincluden"—"The Fir Tree on Lincluden" Abbey, from *The Man of the Woods.*

A.

LINCLUDEN AS A SANCTUARY.

This and the next note illustrate statements that appear in chapters first and sixth.

Quite in accordance with the facts of history Lincluden Abbey receives prominent notice as a place of refuge in the well-known romance, *Douglas, or the Field of Otterburn.* Its author was Mr. Patrick Miller M'Clatchie, a young writer's clerk in Dumfries. When published more than sixty years ago it occasioned a great sensation. Since then two editions of the work have been issued; and it still retains a large amount of local popularity. Many persons, grown-up people as well as boys, owe nearly all the knowledge they possess of the Abbey to the pages of *Douglas.* Even when the characters and incidents depicted by the author are less real than imaginary, they are wonderfully truthful in spirit; and he is entitled to the credit of having by his genius cast an additional spell over the mouldering walls of Lincluden. We have seen how it became a sanctuary to Margaret of Anjou; and though Mr. M'Clatchie probably

never heard of the incident, he has described the similar service rendered by the Abbey to two of his sorely-troubled heroines in language that is not inapplicable to the case of the unfortunate Queen. For other reasons besides this the following passage[1] is, we think, worthy of being quoted :—

"Lord Mervine's sister [Elizabeth] enjoyed within the sacred fane of Lincluden all the peace which a mind torn by anxiety for the fate of her brother, and harrowed to agony by the situation of her female friend [Matilda], could be susceptible of. Lady Helen Douglas, the Abbess of the holy retreat, was a woman of noble birth, lineally descended from the immortal supporter of Bruce's rights, 'the Good Sir James,' as he was justly styled. This lady inherited all her house's pride, which she sometimes carried to a degree scarcely credible; but mingling it, at the same time, with sentiments of benevolence and humanity. Under her supremacy the Abbey became a refuge for the female unfortunate of every class." "Aided by the skilful as well as soothing attentions paid to her in Lincluden, Matilda (whose mind had given way under her sufferings) gradually recovered, till she was able to take walks almost daily with her friend along the romantic banks of Cluden. In one of these the unusual beauty of a spring evening tempted them to prolong their ramble to a greater distance from the Abbey than was ordinary with them. They stopt upon a grassy bank, overhung with wild-flowers and shrubs, at the foot of which the Nith majestically rolled, and from whence were seen the lofty spires and irregular house-tops of the neighbouring city, overhung as it were with a canopy of smoke. They seated themselves here, and united in contemplating the vast expanse of varied scenery which stretched before their eyes to the farthest extremity of the horizon—the blue hills of England. In the middle view many a turreted castle proudly reared its head in the waning rays of the sun, which, sinking in the west, spread its glorious refulgence over dale and down.

"The shades of 'sober evening' were fast closing when our fair wanderers arose to retrace their steps to the Abbey. A sudden re-echoing noise from the town riveted them once more to the spot. Men were seen through the twilight moving to and fro in great numbers on

[1] Chap. xxxvi.

the battlements of the Castle; the bells of St. Michael's began to toll; and distant shouts as of warriors advancing reverberated in the air. The lovely inmates of Lincluden, although at a considerable distance from the portentous scene, could not repress a multitude of terrors as the dreadful jarring increased. The brother of the one and the lover of the other might be there, while they, in ignorance of his destiny, were surveying the tumult. As the noise grew louder the last beams of the orb of day finally sank behind the western hills, and the new moon arose in brilliant majesty. Nothing, however, was discernible in the distance by her light; yet they still lingered, when suddenly the vesper bell pealing mournfully through the woods warned them to retire. The horrid din of war became every moment more audible; between the intermitting shouts the clang of arms or the thunder of battle-axes upon the gates was distinctly heard; and the hearts of Elizabeth and Matilda almost sank within them ere they regained the sanctuary. The Lady Abbess, who had been alarmed at their stay, perceived their return with tremulous joy.

"The gates were instantly locked for the night, and the nuns endeavoured to forget in their evening devotions the dread which had filled their bosoms. The fear of Elizabeth that her brother was among the combatants would not allow her rest, and as soon as vespers were over she ascended to the summit of a lofty turret, from whence she cast her eyes towards the town, vainly endeavouring to pierce the gloom that overshadowed it. All she could do was to listen with a palpitating heart to the dreadful sounds of battle as they rose, swelled, or decreased; and in this lonely occupation she remained till midnight. During all this time the noise ceased not; but just as the turret clock struck twelve it suddenly swelled into a louder burst than ever, and then as suddenly subsided. 'The town is taken!' she sighed as she descended from the tower and hastened to her chamber. Her hasty surmise was soon verified, for ere she could compose herself to rest a soldier on horseback rang at the front portal, and on being asked his errand by the Abbess he replied, 'Open not your gates to-morrow; Dumfries is in the hands of the English!' and setting spurs to his horse he immediately rode off."

B.

The Subterranean Passage.

The vaulted tunnel with which tradition links Lincluden to the Castle of Dumfries figures to great advantage in the romance just quoted from. Though the town is represented as having been captured by an English force led by Lord Edringham and Sir Thomas Edelstone, a recreant Scot, who is the villain of the tale, the Castle still offered a brave resistance to the enemy; but as many hundreds of the citizens retreated within its walls in order to avoid destruction, the provisions of the garrison became exhausted, and both the refugees and the soldiers were reduced to the utmost extremity. Whilst Lord Mervine, the defender of the fortress (who has already been introduced to the reader), was on the point of capitulating he was startled by a shout from the inner court, and, turning his eyes thither, he beheld with amazement Fergus and others of his vassals whom he had not seen for a long while emerging from a low door at one end of the court which was supposed only to lead into a vaulted cellar under one of the towers. The faithful retainer, startled by the famine-stricken aspect of his lord, inquired into its cause. What follows is abridged from the romance.[1]

"'Fergus,' replied Mervine, 'we have defended this place until our whole provision is expended; and, after three dreadful days of want, we were about to surrender.'—'What! surrender to Edelstone?—three days without food? Oh, my lord, had I but dreamt of this! Comrades, let us quickly return for provisions! Yield not yet, my lord; we will return in half an hour.' So saying, he dashed into the vault from whence he had made his appearance, and was followed by his companions, the last of whom vanished from his sight ere the astonished baron could sufficiently recollect himself to inquire whither the passage led. Their receding footsteps were heard for a short space, and then died away. 'Can this vault communicate with the Priory?' said one of the soldiers. 'Or with the Castle of Comyn?' said another. 'That, at present, is a matter of minor consequence,' said the baron. 'Let us be grateful to Heaven for the prospect of relief now opened to us.'

[1] Chaps. xlv. and xlvi.

"On returning into the court of the Castle the anxious baron found that several of Fergus's companions had reappeared, loaded with bread, milk, and wine, on which the famished people were beginning to feed with avidity. For many hours Lord Mervine was so intensely busied in the happy occupation of allotting to each individual a share of food that he found no leisure to inquire from whence it came. Ere the task was finished, however, a busy whisper was circulated around, purporting that the passage communicated with Lincluden. The sound instantly arrested his attention: the name of this adjacent Nunnery called up a host of tender sympathies, which the wild alarms of war had stilled but not crushed: and he flew to Fergus, with an eager inquiry if he had indeed been there and seen his sister—and her friend. He answered in the affirmative. 'Tis by the zeal and activity of Lady Elizabeth that these have been so speedily supplied.' The baron, after listening to this recital, next desired Fergus to satisfy his curiosity respecting the passage by which he and his companions had entered the Castle. 'It seems to have been known only to the Lady Abbess,' replied he, 'who now, unhappily, lies at the point of death. A rumour had reached the Abbey that you were about to yield up the fortress; and, fearing that lack of soldiers was the cause, she gave your sister instructions, on our appearance, to conduct us into the passage, directing us to proceed boldly on until we came to the outlet, which we were assured was here. When I flew back with the dreadful tidings of your actual condition the lady, though on a sick-bed, instantly ordered every one of the peasants on the Abbey grounds to be called thither, and her command was given that they should each furnish as much provision of every kind as they were possessed of, supplying us in the meantime with the bread and wine from her own refectory. Elizabeth and her friend directed these proceedings personally. She would have come with me to the Castle on my return, but by my persuasions she was withheld, for this scene of danger, my lord, is no place for ladies to visit.'

"'You are right, Fergus; but did Matilda signify no wish to see me along with Elizabeth?' asked Mervine in a tone of feigned indifference. 'Both showed equal anxiety for your fate,' replied Fergus. 'I will go directly to Lincluden, then,' said Mervine, 'by this way. To you I

commit the direction of affairs here till I return.'—'I fear you will not obtain admittance, my lord,' said Fergus, 'for 'tis only on the most extraordinary occasions that men are permitted to appear within the walls of the Convent.'—'I know that my appearance there would, by the fastidious disciplinarian, be deemed a serious infringement of the rules of their order,' replied Mervine; 'yet, surely, such an errand as mine may be deemed harmless.'

"Fergus was beginning a series of dissuasives when one of his vassals hastily approached and informed him that footsteps were heard at a distance in the mysterious passage. The prying curiosity of the people was so great that hundreds crowded round it, and some were even venturing in a little way, when they were thus alarmed. Lord Mervine immediately hastened to the spot; the sounds indicative of some person approaching became every moment more distinct, and in a few minutes the baron's sister emerged from the door and sprang into his arms.

"To her entreaties that he would leave the defence of the Castle to other hands he returned a resolute negative. 'I will urge you no more, then,' replied Elizabeth; 'yet let me ask why you maintain so many people here besides your soldiers?'—'These townsmen and their families fled hither for protection from the cruel foe,' said he; 'and now the Southron will not allow them to quit the walls, doubting not that starvation will compel us to yield to him. But stay—surely it would be possible to convey them away in the night by this passage? They might find shelter from the enemy in various parts of Galloway, and our situation here will not be a little amended by their absence. None of the English, I believe, have yet passed the river.'—'This scheme is undoubtedly practicable, brother,' replied Elizabeth; 'and if the Abbess consents——'—'Pardon me, but we cannot stand upon ceremony in such a matter,' interrupted the baron. 'The Abbess must consent to let them pass. I have resolved they shall this night leave the Castle. Nothing would induce me to abandon them to the merciless foe; but by this way they may escape unharmed.'—'Permit me, then, to unfold your resolution to her,' said Elizabeth. 'She lies at present on a sick-bed, and cannot bear much agitation.'

"Lord Mervine waited anxiously for his sister's return, but the hours

passed away, and she came not. He paced about the hall until sunset, by which time his impatience had arisen so high that he resolved to go to Lincluden himself, and prepare the way for the exit of the people.

"Taking a lighted torch in his hand he descended into the vault, to explore his way to the Abbey. The passage, which was at first wide and spacious, soon contracted into a narrow pathway, which could not admit three persons abreast. The air, too, soon became humid and oppressive; but to these obstacles Lord Mervine attended little. In a short time he breathed more freely; a refreshing current blew in his face, and a few moments' walk brought him to the end of the passage. A short flight of stairs appeared by the light of the torch, which want of air had caused hitherto to burn dimly. The voices of a choir were heard above, betokening that the nuns were in the midst of vespers; and, in spite of his resolution, he felt considerable reluctance to appear suddenly in the midst of a group of females whose seclusion from the world rendered them averse to any communication with its inhabitants in the busy sphere, and with whom the admission of a male stranger was deemed a profanation of their sanctity. In this state of agitation he stood, without attempting to call, until the evening service appeared to be concluded. He then ascended, and, finding the outlet covered with a large trap-door of stone, which it was impossible for him to raise, he called loudly for admission. A female voice, in a tone of alarm, demanded his name; he declared it; the door was raised, and he found himself in the chancel. His sister instantly obeyed, and descended hastily into the passage. He continued in the chancel until Elizabeth returned, followed by Fergus and the glad town's people, by whom the prospect of release in any shape was gratefully welcomed. The Convent gates were instantly thrown open, and the whole of them set at liberty as quickly as the narrow dimensions of the passage would admit, one meal of provisions being previously given to each. As soon as Lord Mervine had seen this important business performed to his entire satisfaction he returned with Fergus to the Castle, after desiring Elizabeth to convey his thanks to the Abbess.

"During his absence from the Castle a number of his vassals, eager to annihilate the hopes which their enemies might have built upon their

want of provisions, had triumphantly suspended the carcasses of a dozen sheep from the battlements, in the same order as they would have appeared in the stall of a knight of the cleaver. This singular display had the desired effect. Edringham on this very day received the first intelligence of the defeat of his countrymen at Otterburn and the capture of Percy. The news had spread an alarm through his ranks which his utmost exertion could scarcely repress. To Edelstone they were doubly terrible, for he doubted not that the victorious army would immediately bend its route to the part of its native land which the enemy had overrun."

C.

The Lincluden Border Ordinances.

Subjoined is a full account of the proceedings described in chapter sixth.

Be it remembered, that on the 18th of December 1448, Earl William Douglas assembled the whole Lords, Freeholders, and eldest Borderers, that best knowledge had, at the College of Lincluden; and there he caused those Lords and Borderers bodily to be sworn, the holy gospel touched, that they justly and truly, after their cunning, should decrete, decern, deliver, and put in order and writing, the statutes, ordinances, and uses of Marche, that were ordained in Black Archibald of Douglas' days, and Archibald his son's days, in time of warfare: and they came to him advisedly, with these statutes and ordinances, which were in time of warfare before. The said Earl William, seeing the statutes in writing delivered by the said Lords and Borderers, thought them right speedful and profitable to the Borderers; which statutes, ordinances, and points of warfare he took, and the whole Lords and Borderers he caused bodily to be sworn, that they should maintain and supply him, at their goodly power, to do the law upon those that should break the statutes underwritten. Also the said Earl William, and Lords, and eldest Borderers made certain points to be treason in time of warfare to be used, which were not treason before his time, but to be treason in his time, and in all time coming.

1. *Intercommoning with Englishmen.*

It is founded and ordained by the law of Marches, that no manner of person, man nor woman, of any degree, shall intercommon with any English man or woman either in Scotland or in England, except the prisoners shall come in Scotland, without the special licence of the warden or his deputy asked and obtained in time of warfare, under the pain of treason.

2. *Of him who passeth from his company.*

It is statute and ordained, that when it happens that the warden or his lieutenant, with any fellowship, do pass in England, that what person, for covetise of goods, or singular profit to himself, departs and passes from his fellowship, all goods that he happens to take shall be taken from him, and be escheat, and by the governor of the host or company shall be disposed among the fellowship as to him shall seem speedful; and he shall be noted as a traytor for his deed, and punished for open treasons.

3. *That all men fight on foot.*

It is ordained, that what time it is seen speedful that the host light down and array themselves, that each man light down at commandment, and no man bide on horse, but as many as are ordained by the chieftain; and whoso does not, to be punished in like manner as is beforesaid; and if he happens to win any prisoner or goods, that bides on horse without commandment, two parts shall be his Majesty's, and the third part the chieftain's of the host.

4. *Arraying the host.*

Item, That no man make obstacle or letting to them that are ordained to array the host, and that each man shall answer and obey under the same pain.

5. *Taking another man's horse.*

Item, It is statute and ordained, that if there happens any chase, either fleeing or following, whatever he be that takes his fellow's horse, if

he wins any goods on him, either prisoner or other goods, he that owed the horse shall have the half of it, and he shall bring the horse again to the stake; and failing thereof he shall be noted as a traytor, and punished. And if it happens him to fly on that horse, as soon as he comes home he shall pass to the market of the shire, and proclaim him, and immediately deliver him to the sheriff or stewart of the land; and if he does not this he shall be punished as a traytor.

6. *Taking of prisoners.*

Item, When it shall happen us to win any field, whoever he be that arrests any prisoner, and then follows off the field, and he will swear, when he comes home, that he did that for safety of his prisoner's life, that condition shall be of no avail; and whoever he be that slays his fellow's prisoner, after he be arrested, shall pay his ransom to his taker, if he be of power; and if he be not of power, he shall die therefore.

Also, it is found statute and use of Marche, that it is lawful to any man to take as many prisoners as he may, both on foot and horse, so that he lead them with the strength of Scotsmen; and to take a token of his prisoner with him, that he may be sufficiently known, and to leave his token with his prisoner. And so many as he takes in suchlike manner to be his prisoners; and the determination thereof to be decided by the warden or his deputy, if there be any complaints.

7. *Rieving of other men's prisoners.*

Item, It is found, statute, and ordained, that any man being complainant of reif of his prisoner or his goods, shall find a borgh [pledge] in the hands of the warden-serjeant upon the party that he is plaintiff of, which party shall be arrested to bring the prisoner or the goods to the next warden court; and the prisoner there to be challenged by his party, and both their witnesses shall be heard and examined. And it shall be at the will and discretion of the judge and his sworn counsel, when both the parties are heard, to give his decree, who has reason to the prisoner or the goods; and the party found in the wrong shall pay £10 to the judges. And if it happens any man to complain in the field to the chief-

tain that his prisoner is reft from him, as soon as he may be gotten, he shall be delivered to the warden or lieutenant, to be put in even hands, that neither of the parties induce him to their will, that it may be determined and judged who has most reason to him.

8. *Contention for a prisoner.*

Item, If it happens a prisoner to be taken, and divers persons contend about him, he shall be, at the command of the warden, delivered in even hands, or else in the warden's hands, at the will of the parties which they had rather; and the warden shall cause the prisoner to be brought to the warden court, and there the parties shall challenge, and he that is found arrester shall challenge first: and if he has any Scotsmen to witness that he took him prisoner, and first arrested him, the witnesses of the first arrester shall be of value, what Scotsmen that ever they be; the arrester and his witnesses being bodily sworn, that they shall truth say, without dread or favour of any person. And failing of this, the action of any other claimer shall be put to the oath of the Englishman, he being bodily sworn, and in even hands, that he shall truth say, without regard to profit or loss to himself, and without fraud or favour of any other parties.

9. *Ransoming officers.*

Item, It is statute, and found use of Marche, whatever he be that takes any prisoner who may lead a hundred men, he shall not be by him letten to pledge, nor yet ransomed for fifteen days in time of war unless he have leave of the warden.

10. *Proportioning of ransom.*

Item, It is statute, and found use of Marche, whatever he be that strikes down a man off horseback in the chase, suppose he be yielded thereafter to another man, or that strikes him down through justing of war, he that strikes him down shall have half his ransom, so that it be proved.

11. *Takers or concealers of traytors.*

Item, It is statute, and found use of Marche, that whatever he be that brings a traytor to the warden or his deputy, he shall have for his reward an hundred shillings; and he that puts him away fraudfully, shall underlie the pain of death for his so doing, like as the traytor should have done.

12. *Beacons to be sustained.*

Item, It is found statute, and used in time of warfare, with respect to bails burning and keeping, for coming of an English host into Scotland, there shall a bail be burned on Trailtrow Hill, and another on Penchat-hill, and on the Bail-hill above the Hame-ends, one on the Cowdens above Castlemilk, one on Quitsoun, one on Drysdail, and on the Burraw Skenton in Applegarth parish, one on the Browan-hill, and one on the Bleis, in the tenement of Wamphray, one on the Kindol-knok, in the tenement of Johnstoun, one on the Gallow-hill of Moffat parish, and five in Nithisdale, one on the Wardlaw, one on the Rahochtoun, one on Barloch, one on Pittarra-hill, one on the Malow-hill, one on Corswincon, one on the Corsell, one on the fell above Dowlbark, and one on the Watchfell; and to cause these bails to be kept and made, the sheriff of Nithisdale, the stewart of Annandale, and the stewart of Kirkudbright in Galloway shall be debtors; and whoso keepeth not the bails, shall pay for each default one mark.

13. *Pursuit on firing the beacons.*

Whoever he be, an host of Englishmen coming in the country, the bails being burned, that follows not the host on horse or on foot, ever till the Englishmen be passed off Scotland, and that they have sufficient witnesses thereof, all their goods shall be escheat, and their bodies at the warden's will, unless they have lawful excuse for them.

14. *Prisoners not to pass without safe conduct.*

Item, It is ordained, if there be any Englishmen taken in Scotland

they shall have no freedom to pass in the country farther than the place of their entry, and the streight way from England to the place, on no man's conduct, save only our sovereign lord's or the warden's proper self; and that they shall come on another conduct to the very day and place of their entry and payment. And if they happen to be without conduct, or any Scotsman with them in name of their taker, he shall be prisoner to any Scotsman that may get him.

15. *Suffering prisoners to escape.*

Item, That no Scotsman, after any host be ridden, or ready to ride, in England, let his prisoner pass home, or that an host of English be come in Scotland, Scotsmen gathering against them, under the pain of treason.

16. *Parting of goods.*

Item, Whoever he be that comes to the host without bow or spear, and there be any parting of goods, two of them shall be to one bow part.

17. *Deserting.*

Item, Whoever he be, after that they come in the field, that flees from the lord his master, and his fellows, and bides not to the uttermost, all his goods shall be escheat, and his person punished as a traytor at the next warden court thereafter to be holden.

18. *Rieving of prisoners or goods.*

Item, Whoever he be that rieves from any man his horse, prisoner, or goods, after that they be known unto him, he shall restore them again, and his person punished therefore, as for open treason.

Here end the laws and constitutions made by the Earl Douglas.—*Harleian MSS.*, vol. 4700, British Museum.

D.

THE COLLEGE PATRIMONY—ACT OF PARLIAMENT (JUNE 1617) DISPONING THE LANDS TO SIR ROBERT GORDON AND JOHN MURRAY.

This and the following note supplement information given in chapters seventh and ninth.

After the annexation of the Kirklands, His Majesty gave, granted, and disponed to James Douglas of Pinzerie, the following lands:—The two merk and half merk land of Fuffok; the five merk land of Ernealmerie; the five merk land of Achindolie; the five merk land of Largue [Largneane]; "ane the tua merk land with the halff merk land of Ernefillane;" the five merk land of Culgruff; the five merk land of Crodell; the five merk land of Airdis; the five merk land of Mollance; the five merk land of Hillintoun; the five merk land of Clarybrand; the ten merk land of Croftis; the five merk land of Glengopoke: all lying within the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright; the salmon fishing in the water of Nith belonging to the Provostry of Lincluden, lying within the barony of Drumsleit and Stewartry foresaid; the Manis of Grenelaw, "with the cayne peittis, the bonday warkis of the Baronie of Crocemichaell, with due services of the same barony, and with all their pertinents lying in the same barony and Stewartry foresaid;" the six merk land of the Manis of Lincluden, with the manor-place, woods, yards, meadow of the same, and all their pertinents; the six merk land of Trochane; the mill of Staikfurde, with the mill lands and their pertinents; the mill of Terauchtie, with the mill lands and pertinents of the same; the meadow of Clunye, lying within the barony of Drumsleit and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright; the five merk land of Drinsbie; the ten merk land of Chapelerne, lying within the barony of Crosemichaell and Stewartry aforesaid; together with all and sundry towers, fortalices, manor-places, mills, woods, fishings, yards, orchards, "pairtis, pendicles, annexis, connexis, tennentis, tenandries, fernices of frie tennentis," of all and sundry the foresaid lands, mills, and meadows, with their pertinents: "together with the advocatioun, donatioun, and right of patronage of the Kirk of Glencarne, personage and vicarage thereof:" "Qlkis all and sindrie the landis and utheris abonespēit

ar be vertew of the said infeftment unite, creat, and incorporat in ane haill and frie baronie callit the baronye of Crocemichell:" To be haldin of our said Sovereign Lord and his successors in feu-farm, heritage, and free barony for ever, for payment yearly to His Highness and his successors of the feu-mails and other duties contained in the said infeftment granted to the said James Douglas and his foresaids thereupon, by which infeftment the feu-mails and duties of the lands and others foresaid were reserved to umqle Maister Robert Douglas, then Provost of Lincluden, during all the days of his lifetime, and after his decease to William Douglas, now of Drumlangrig, as successor to the said umqle Mr. Robert Douglas in the said Provostry of Lincluden; so that the first term's payment of the said feu-mails and duties of the lands and others foresaid to His Majesty and his successors was appointed to begin at the term of Whitsunday or Martinmas next and immediately following the day of the decease of the said umqle Mr. Robert Douglas and of the said William Douglas of Drumlangrig, "and of the langest levar off thame tua, quhen it suld happin allanerlie," as the said infeftment of the date at Halierudhous, the second day of April the year of God "J^{m} v^{c} fourscore aucht yearis at mair Len^{t} proportis:" And siclyke His Majesty and Estates aforesaid, understanding that His Highness, by virtue of his other infeftment under the great seal, after his said lawful and perfect age "gũall revoca^{o}ne" and making of the said Act of Annexation, with advice and consent of His Highness' officers of estate for the time, gave, granted, and disponed to the said James Douglas of Pingzerie, his heirs and assignees whatsoever, all and sundry the lands and uthers particularly after-specified, viz.: the five merk land of Lytle Dryburgh; the five merk land of Drumjarg; the five merk land of Earnephillañ; the five merk land of Ernecraig; the five merk land of Blaironye; the five merk land of Mekle Dryburgh; the five merk land of Chapmantoun; the five merk land of Blakerne; the five merk land of Ernemunzie; the five merk land of Culnotrie; the corn mill of Crocemichaell; the five merk land of Garrintoun; the two merk with the half merk land of Blakpark; all lying within the barony of Crocemichell and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright: the fifteen shilling land of Staikfurde; the forty shilling land of Newtoun; the merk land of Clunye and Skellingholme;

the six merk land of Terrauchtie; the six merk land of Drumganis; the five merk land of Troqueir; the merk land of Stotholme; the five merk land of Nuneland; the five merk land of Crusestanes; the six merk land of Holme; the twenty shilling land of Marieholme; the four merk land of Nuneholme: all lying within the foresaid barony of Drumsleit and Stewartry above-written, etc.; "to be halden off our said soverane Lord and his successoures in frie blenche for the yearlie payment of the soume of ane hundereth merkis money foirsaid at tua termes in the yeir, Witsonday and Mertimes in winter, be equall portiounes, in name of blenche ferme allanerlie," with express reservation of all feu-farms, mails, duties, services, and other casualties of the whole foresaid lands, etc., to Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, and William Douglas, his successor in the Provostry, during their lives, and to the longest liver of the two:

"And likwayis his Mãtie and Estaittis foirsaidis," understanding that his Majesty, by His Highness' infeftment under the great seal, with consent of umqle Sir Jhonne Arnote of Bersuick, knight, general receiver for the time depute by His Majesty of his Highness' rents and casualties of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the Lords of His Highness' Secret Council of the same kingdom, His Highness' commissioners gave, granted, and disponed to His Highness' trusty and well-beloved Sir Robert Gordone of Lochinwar, knight, and Jhonne Murray of Lochmabeñ, one of the grooms of His Majesty's bed-chamber, equally between them, their heirs and assignees, the lands and others particularly above specified, contained in the infeftments above mentioned, with their castles, towers, fortalices, manor-places, houses, etc., pertaining to His Highness through the process and doom of forfeiture orderly led and deduced against William Douglas, son and apparent heir of the said James Douglas of Pingzerie, who was also designed of Beatfurd, who was "prowydit" by the said James Douglas of Pingzerie to the heritable rights of the lands and others foresaid; and likewise pertaining to His Majestie, and become in His Highness' hands, through the resignation made by the said James Douglas of Pingzerie, also Beatfurde, of the lands and others above specified, in the hands of the said Lords of His Highness' Secret Council of the said kingdom of Scotland, His Majesty's commissioners in favour

of the said Sir Robert Gordone and Jhonne Murray, and for the said new infeftment made and granted to them of the same by His Majesty, under His Highness' great seal: To be held of His Highness and his successors in fee and heritage, for payment of the feu-farms, mails, duties, rights, and services of the lands and others foresaid, with the pertinents, wont and used to his Majesty and his predecessors before the said resignation, as the said infeftment, of the date at Edinburgh, the nineteenth day of December, the year of God "J^{m} vj^{c} and ellevin yeiris mair fullelie proportis." And in like manner, His Majesty and Estates foresaid, understanding that His Highness, by his Majesty's infeftments under His Highness' great seal, with consent of His Highness' trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir Gedeoun Murray of Elibank, knight, His Highness' controller, collector, and treasurer of His Highness' new augmentations depute by his Majesty, of the said kingdom of Scotland, and of the remanent Lords of His Highness' Secret Council of the same kingdom, His Majesty's commissioners, gave, granted, and disponed to the said Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar and John Murray of Lochmaben, their heirs and assignees, the five merk land of Little Dryburgh, and others contained in the second list given above, pertaining to His Majesty and being at His Highness' gift and disposition, through the resignation and demission of the same made by the said Williame Douglas of Drumlangrig as Provost of the said Provostry of Lincluden, with consent of the prebendaries of the said College Kirk of Lincluden for their interest: to be held of His Highness and his successors "in frie blenche for payment yeirlie of the soume of ane hundereth merkis money," at the feast of Whitsunday, as the said infeftment, dated "at Theoballis, in England, the nyntene day of September, the yeir of God J^{m} vj^{c} and sextene yeiris, at mair lenth beiris:"

And also his Majesty and Estates, understanding that the said Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar and John Murray of Lochmaben, by their letters obligatory, are bound and obliged to resign and surrender all and sundry the lands and others above specified, except the five merk land of Airds, together with the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the Parish Kirk of Glencairn, which were disponed by them before in favour of the said William Douglas of Drumlanrig and his heirs, in the

hands of our Sovereign Lord and his successors, or in the hands of His Highness' Secret Council, His Majesty's commissioners for new infeftment of the same, to be made and granted by his Majesty, under his highness' great seal, to the said Sir Robert Gordon, his heirs male and assignees heritable:

Therefore our Sovereign Lord and Estates of this present Parliament, for the good, true, and thankful service done to his Majesty and his most noble progenitors by the said Sir Robert Gordoun of Lochinvar, knyt., and Jon. Murray of Lochmaben, and their predecessors, "notourelie knawin" to His Majesty and the Estates, ratify and approve the foresaid infeftments, dissolve the lands and others rehearsed from His Highness' crown and patrimony, to the effect that his Majesty may of new give, grant, and dispone to the said Sir Robert Gordon the two merk land and half merk land of Fuffok, the five merk land of Ernealmerie, the five merk land of Achindolie, the five merk land of Largneane, the two merk land and one merk land of Ernephillane, the five merk land of Culgruff, the five merk land of Crodell, the five merk land of Mollance, the five merk land of Hillingtoun, the five merk land of Clarybrand, the ten merk land of Croftis, the five merk land of Glengopook, and Maniss of Grenelaw, "with the kayne, peittis, and bonday warkis of the said haill baronie of Crocemichaell, and dew services of the sam baronie and all thair pertinents," the five merk land of Ernisbie; the ten merk land of Chapellarne; the two merk and one half merk land of Clariebrand, to be held of our said Sovereign Lord and his successors in feu-farm for the yearly payment of the sum of £213:6:8, usual money of the realm of Scotland, at the two terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, in equal portions, in name of feu-farm, heirs to pay double this sum in the first year of their entry, according to custom; and that his Majesty might also grant and dispone to the said Sir Robert Gordon the five merk land of Litle Dryburgh; the five merk land of Drumjarg; the five merk land of Ernephillane; the five merk land of Ernecraig; the five merk land of Blaironye; the five merk land of Mekle Dryburgh; the five merk land of Chapmantoun; the five merk land of Blackerne; the five merk land of Ernemunzie; the five merk land of Culnotrie; the corn mill of Crocemichaell; the five merk land of Gerrantoun; the two merk and one merk

land of Blakpark; together with the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the Paroche Kirk of Crocemichell, personage and viccarage thereof, to be held of our said sovereign lord and his successors in free blenche for payment of the sum of £40 more yearly, at the feast of Whitsunday:

And likewise to the effect that his Majesty may of new give, grant, and dispone to the said Jhonne Murray, his heirs and assignees heritable, the six merk land of the Maniss of Lincluden, with the manor-place, woods, yards, meadow, and their pertinents; the six merk land of Trochan, alias Carnihane; with the mill of Staikfurde, mill lands, and pertinents thereof; the mill of Tarraughtie, with the mill lands and pertinents; the meadow of Clunye; the salmon fishing upon the water of Neth, pertaining to the said Provostry of Lincluden, to be held of our sovereign lord and his successors in feu-farm for the yearly payment for the lands immediately above specified of the sum of £40, and for the said fishing the sum of ten merks more, to be paid in equal portions at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas; successors to pay double in the first year of their entry: And siclyik to the effect that his Majesty may give, grant, and dispone to the said John Murray and his heirs and assignees the fifteen shilling land of Staikfurde; the forty shilling land of Newtoun; the merk land of Clunye and Skellingholme; the six merk land of Tarrauchtie; the six merk land of Drumganis; the five merk land of Troqueir; the five merk land of Stotholme; the five merk land of Nuneland; the five merk land of Crusestanis; the six merk land of Holme; the twenty shilling land of Marieholme; the four merk land of Nunholme: to be held of our sovereign lord and his successors in free blenche for payment of the sum of forty merks yearly, at the feast of Whitsunday: And because, by virtue of the Act of Annexation of the Kirklands to the Crown, the said Williame Douglas, now of Drumlangrig, has right reserved to him during all the days of his life, as being "prowydit" to the said Provostry of Lincluden, in and to the whole farms, mails, kaynes, and other duties, of all and sundry the lands and others abonexpremit, w^{h} pertained to the said Provostry, as part of the temporality and patrimony thereof, our sovereign lord and the estates declare, decern, and ordain that the said Sir Robert Gordon and John Murray, their heirs and successors, are and

shall be exonerated and discharged of all and sundry the feu-farms, mails, and other duties above contained in their infeftments, of the lands and others "abone expremit," with their pertinents, during all the days of the lifetime of the said Williame Douglas of Drumlangrig, as Provost of the said Colledge Kirk of Lincluden.

E.

Present Owners of Lincluden Property.

Some of the farms that belonged to Lincluden have been changed in name since they fell into private hands, so that it is difficult to identify them at the present day. As respects a few others, they have been altered in size or absorbed in neighbouring holdings; but the greater number retain their original designation (chiefly Celtic) and acreage. We need scarcely add that since the Annexation Act was passed all the landed property has vastly increased in value: at present, roughly speaking, the yearly rental cannot be less than £9000, and two or three of the principal farms probably yield as much, when taken together, as the whole of them did 300 years ago. Subjoined is a list of the existing owners, so far as has been ascertained, the farms being given in the same order as they appear in the Register Buik, chapter seventh.

Mollance—John L. Scott of Mollance.
Garrantown, now Gerranton—John L. Scott.
Ffuffok, absorbed in Dunmuir, near Castle Douglas—Miss Clark.
Hillyntoun, now Hillowtown—Mrs. Jane Bell.
Clairbrand—Trustees of the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, for Madras Academy, Cupar.
Auchyndoly—Archibald Hume of Auchendolly.
Largneane—Archibald Hume.
Little Dryburgh—J. L. Scott of Mollance.
Drumjarge, now Dunjarg—Trustees of Mrs. Jane Bowstead, Gloucester
Blak Park—Sir R. J. Abercrombie, Bart.
Erncrago—Earl of Moray.

Glengopok, now Glenroan—Francis Maxwell of Gribton.
Culcrufe, now Culgruff—Robert Stewart of Culgruff.
Blaryuny, now Blairinnie—Francis Maxwell of Gribton.
Mekle Dryburgh—J. L. Scott.
Chapmantoun—James Craig of Chapmanton.
Trodale, now Trowdale—A. Hume of Auchendolly.
Crofftis, now Crofts—William Duncan of Danevale.
Ardis, now Airds—Samuel Moffat of Airds.
Blaikerne, now Blackerne—Trustees of Mrs. Jane Bowstead.
Ernemyne, now Ernmenzie—Lieut.-Col. Sprot Tait.
Ernannydy—Meikle Ernambrie—Capt. Clark Kennedy of Knockgray; Little Ernambrie—Trustees of the late Dr. A. Bell.
Manis of Grenelaw—Greenlaw Mansion and Policy—John Ross Coulthart; Mains of Greenlaw forming part of Culvennan and Cairnley.
Culnotry, now Kilnotry—Capt. Clark Kennedy of Knockgray.
Staikfurde, now Nithside—Robert K. Walker of Nithside.
Marieholm—Robert Maxwell.
Cluny and Skilling Holme, now Cluny and Hynd's Cluny—Capt. A. P. Constable Maxwell of Terregles.
Terrauchty—W. H. Maxwell of Munches.
Dronganis, now Drungans—R. E. Robertson Ramsay, barrister.
Troqueer, now Troqueerholm—J. Gibson Starke of Troqueerholm.
College Mains—Capt. A. P. Constable Maxwell of Terregles.
Nunland—James Kifsock.
Crustanis, now Curriestanes—Thomas Irving.
The Holm, now Goldielea—Walter Scott of Broomlands.
Nunholme—George Henderson of Nunholm.

F.

Burns and Lincluden.

With Robert Burns, as mentioned in the thirteenth chapter, the ruins of Lincluden Abbey were a favourite resort. His eldest son Robert retained a vivid recollection of having, when quite a boy, been led by

him to this cherished haunt; and often the poet repaired thither alone, when on solitary musings bent. It was on one of these latter occasions that he wrote, or was inspired to write, the following beautiful lyric:—

THE VISION OF LIBERTIE.

As I stood by yon roofless tower,
Where the wa'-flower scents the dewy air,
Where the houlet mourns in her ivy bower,
And tells the midnight moon her care;

Chorus.

A lassie all alone was making her moan,
Lamenting our lads beyond the sea;
In the bluidy wars they fa', and our honour's gane and a',
And broken-hearted we maun die.

The winds were laid, the air was still,
The stars they shot along the sky;
The tod was howling on the hill,
And the distant-echoing glens reply.
A lassie all alone, etc.

The burn, adown its hazelly path,
Was rushing by the ruin'd wa',
Hasting to join the sweeping Nith,
Whose roarings seem'd to rise and fa'.
A lassie all alone, etc.

The cauld blue North was streaming forth
Her lights, wi' hissing, eerie din:
Athort the lift they start and shift,
Like Fortune's favours, tint as win.
A lassie all alone, etc.

Now looking over firth and fauld,
Her horn the pale-faced Cynthia rear'd;
When, lo! in form of minstrel auld,
A stern and stalwart ghaist appear'd.
A lassie all alone, etc.

Had I a statue been o' stane,
His darin' look had daunted me;
And on his bonnet grav'd was plain,
The sacred posy—"Libertie!"
A lassie all alone, etc.

And frae his harp sic strains did flow,
  Might rous'd the slumbering Dead to hear;
But, oh! it was a tale of woe,
  As ever met a Briton's ear.
    A lassie all alone, etc.

He sang wi' joy his former day,
  He, weeping, wail'd his latter times;
But what he said it was nae play,
  I winna venture't in my rhymes.

Chorus.

A lassie all alone was making her moan,
  Lamenting our lads beyond the sea,
In the bluidy wars they fa', and our honour's gane and a',
  And broken-hearted we maun die.

In a more cheerful mood Burns produced his fine pastoral love-song,

CA' THE YOWES TO THE KNOWES.

Chorus.

Ca' the yowes to the knowes,
Ca' them whare the heather grows,
Ca' them whare the burnie rowes,
  My bonnie dearie.

Hark the mavis' evening sang
Sounding Clouden's woods amang!
Then a faulding let us gang,
  My bonnie dearie.
    Ca' the yowes, etc.

We'll gae down by Clouden side,
Thro' the hazels spreading wide,
O'er the waves that sweetly glide,
  To the moon sae clearly.
    Ca' the yowes, etc.

Yonder Clouden's silent towers,
Where at moonshine midnight hours,
O'er the dewy bending flowers,
  Fairies dance sae cheerie.
    Ca' the yowes, etc.

Ghaist nor bogle shalt thou fear;
Thou'rt to love and heaven sae dear,
Nocht of ill may come thee near,
My bonnie dearie.
Ca' the yowes, etc.

Fair and lovely as thou art,
Thou hast stown my very heart;
I can die—but canna part,
My bonnie dearie.

Chorus.
Ca' the yowes to the knowes,
Ca' them whare the heather grows,
Ca' them whare the burnie rowes,
My bonnie dearie.

G.

Walter's Poem on the Ruins of Lincluden.

A reference to the fine poem subjoined and its author is made in chapter thirteenth. The piece is entitled, "Verses on an Evening View of the Ruins of Lincluden Abbey," and was first published, with numerous other beautiful products of Mr. Walter's pen, in the *Nithsdale Minstrel* (date 1815), edited by the late Rev. William Dunbar of Applegarth, and published by Preacher and Dunbar, Dumfries.

Ye holy walls, that still sublime
Resist the crumbling touch of time;
How strongly still your view displays
The piety of ancient days;
As through your ruins, hoar and gray—
Ruins yet beauteous in decay—
The silver moonbeams trembling play,
The forms of ages long gone by
Crowd thick on fancy's wondering eye,
And wake the soul to musings high.

E'en now, as, lost in thought profound,
I view the solemn scene around,

And pensive gaze with wistful eye,
The past returns, the present flies;
Again the dome, in pristine pride,
Lifts high its roof and arches wide,
That, knit with curious tracery,
The Gothic ornaments display.
The high-arched windows, painted fair,
Show many a saint and martyr there;
As on their slender forms I gaze,
Methinks they brighten to a blaze!
With noiseless step and taper bright,
What are yon forms that meet my sight?
Slowly they move while every eye
Is heavenward raised in ecstasy.
'Tis the soft spotless vestal train,
That seek in prayer the midnight fane.

And hark! what more than mortal sound
Of music breathes the pile around?
'Tis the soft chanted choral song,
Whose tones the echoing aisles prolong;
Till, thence returned, they softly stray
O'er Cluden's wave with fond delay—
Now on the rising gale swell high,
And now in fainting murmurs die!
The boatmen on Nith's gentle stream,
That glistens on the pale moonbeam,
Suspend their dashing oars to hear
The holy anthem loud and clear,
Each worldly thought a while forbear,
And mutter forth a half-heard prayer.

But as I gaze the vision fails,
Like frost-work touched by southern gales.
The altar sinks, the tapers fade,
And all the splendid scene's decayed!
In windows fair the painted pane
No longer glows with holy stain;
But through the broken space the gale
Blows chilly from the misty vale;
The bird of eve flits sullen by—
Her home these aisles and arches high;

The choral hymn, that erst so clear
Broke softly sweet on fancy's ear,
Is drowned amid the mournful scream
That breaks the magic of my dream.
Roused by the sound I start and see
The ruined sad reality.

H.

Fir Tree on Lincluden Abbey.

For several years a sort of natural banner was displayed by the heptagonal tower of the ruined building, in the form of a large fir tree. It was still flourishing in 1845, and must have been removed soon after that date. The tower fell with a crash in 1851, but whether this catastrophe was occasioned or accelerated by the presence of the tree upon its crest we are unable to say. To this tree some verses are devoted *in The Man of the Woods*, written forty years ago, which we venture to reproduce. "Herbert," the moralising sage, companioned by his youthful friend, proceeds along the right bank of the Nith, and on reaching the ruins he addresses the tree in the following terms:—

Sore crumbled seem those turrets gray,
And fastly hurrying to decay;
A dread and downcast air is thrown
Upon each time-disfigured stone.
How desolate the scene appears!
And, dimly seen through dropping tears,
Methinks I mark, from yonder wall,
Stern Ruin fling his dusky pall;
And fancy hears him hoarsely cry,
"No rival to my reign have I!"

That sound is but the babbling gale;
That sign portends not waste or wail.
How should a thing so green and free
The dark destroyer's emblem be?
Though Ruin's hand has sore defaced
Whate'er the skilful chisel traced,

And tried with too successful wile
To mar the consecrated pile—
Yet rules he not in reckless pride,
His baleful influence undefied;
For, 'bove the spoiler's sceptre springs
A form which sense of gladness brings—
This thing of life which lifts its head
As rose leaves o'er a coffin lid,
Regardless of the wreck below—
Joy's symbol 'midst a scene of woe.

Green stripling of the forest tribe,
Which from dead walls dost life imbibe!
What pity that a fane so fair
Should first dismantled be, and bare,
Ere thou, so late a humble cone,
Upon its tender mercies thrown,
Could rear aloft thy youthful crest,
In ever-verdant beauty drest!
But thou of this parental aid
Hast mindful been, and payment made.
Stay, nourishment and strength are thine;
And gratefully the nursling Pine
Admits his mural mother's claim,
And, all to soothe her hour of shame,
Now twines a wreath of bud and bough,
To deck her deeply-furrowed brow.

Furrowed, alas! forlorn, defaced,
Though once with costly splendour graced;
Despoiled, deserted, and defiled,
Though long a holy dwelling styled.
Where do thy sainted inmates roam,
Thou scathed and solitary dome?—
No neophyte the world resigns
Unwept, to worship at thy shrines.
Earth's pleasures may be poor indeed;
But what hast thou to give instead?
No lingerer lifts the hand to bless;—
No pageant crowds the void abyss.
Why rises not the chaunted hymn,
To cheer thy courts so dread and dim?
(And why thus warble, sweetest bird,

As if the long-sealed fount were stirred?)
The altar and the offering fled—
The odour which the censer shed;
A silence reigns in every cell,
Which to the inner ear can tell
More truthfully than loudest tone,
Thy glory is for ever gone;
Nor hope the faintest sign can see
At variance with the stern decree.

From this grave scene now turn the eye
To mark the gay green Tree on high.
See how its matted foliage waves,
How well the brawling wind it braves,
How haughtily its arms are cast,
How careless of the sweeping blast—
The cynosure of neighbouring pines,
To whom each fellow-fir resigns
Its claim to notice or renown,
Meek vassal of its verdant crown.
But, would'st thou hear, young woodland chief,
I'd ask, in language blunt and brief,
If thou wast raised by right of worth
Thus far above the common earth?
True, thou dost straight and greenly grow—
So do thy brethren here below;
In graceful folds thy tresses twine,
But theirs are beautiful as thine;
Nor do thy princely weeds exhale
More fragrance to the vesper gale
Than these plebeian pines bequeath,
Who droop their heads thy heel beneath.
So, if thou wilt but answer sooth,
With that uncourtly virtue—truth,
Nor for thy seat a tenure find
Scarce known to kings of human kind,
Confess, no merit of thy own
Has given thee this aerial throne.

Fair Tree! I would not wish to wrest
One leaflet from thy honoured crest.
Long to thy spreading boughs be given
The sun, the shower, the dew of heaven;

May no insidious blight consume
Thy being's source, thy beauty's bloom,
Lest Nature's self should rue the void
Her sweet supremacy destroyed,
And Art should cry in triumph thus:—
"Hast thou become as one of us?
Thou that didst flaunt thy flowery pride
My desecrated fane beside:
Thy works are mutable as mine—
This hallowed house, that precious Pine,
Alike the spoiler's influence own,
No longer shall I mourn alone."

But such dread doom thou need'st not fear,
If Wisdom's voice thou wilt but hear—
Live with thy state content!
Take warning from yon wilful Tree,
Whom thou but yesterday didst see,
Prone from the verdant woodland lea,
To dark perdition sent.
Nor seek, with selfish aims elate,
To reach, like him, a dangerous height,
Lest ruin by the roots await,
Or 'mong thy branches rave:
For sure and great would be thy fall,
With none to help or heed thy call,
When rends the over-burthened wall
To form the Fir Tree's grave;
Then thou, among its fragments laid,
Would'st mourn in darkness, disarrayed,
Crushed in the wreck thyself had made.
May sweet Diana save
Thy empire from so foul an end,
That thou may'st long thy verdure lend
To grace these turrets dread and grim;
To prompt the heart's untutored hymn
To that Almighty Power,
Who summons with creative breath,
Life, beauty, from the dust of death,
And bids the desert flower.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 21, second line from foot, *for* "frankal moigne" *read* "frank almoigne."

The statement "say masses," made near the foot of page 29, is scarcely correct; better to read, "offer petitions."

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